

A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL  
ATTITUDES OF OKLAHOMA STATE  
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

By

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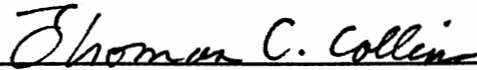
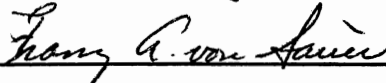
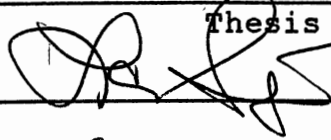
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Thesis Approved:



Thesis Advisor



Dean of the Graduate College

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Human geographers have long been concerned with the variation in society's attitudes and beliefs. Theoretically, these attitudes and beliefs are dynamic with social scientists from many disciplines continually seeking the development of more accurate and more revealing tests from which to measure attitude variation. The most popular way of organizing these results is in a regional scheme or format. Regional schemes abound at differing scales and can be defined in many ways. For example, the boundaries of a region might include a common religious culture, such as "Catholicism," a specific ethnic group, such as "the Croats," or a certain political philosophy, such as "separatist."

Muir and Paddison (1981) define political culture as "a conditioning factor on our behavior...[which] incorporates not only the aspects of the environment which appear important to us but also our attitudes toward them (p. 24)." Political culture is central to the functioning of any society. As a social force, it not only shapes and molds society's political structures and institutions, but also affects the social outlook, morals, and ethics incorporated within that community. Because political culture includes

numerous non-tangible variables, many researchers struggle when attempting to categorize specific political culture areas or regions.

For the purposes of this study, a political region will consist of a group of counties which share a common economic, cultural, and/or political history which lends itself to cohesive forces and convenient analysis. In other words, a region, based on political beliefs and attitudes, is as much a psychological region as it is a cultural or political one.

#### Problem

Oklahoma, as has been shown in past research, does not fit into a single political culture region (Gastil, 1975; Roark, 1979; Zelinsky, 1973). Instead, the state represents the impact area and/or overlap zone of several surrounding political culture regions. To date, studies attempting to delineate the political aspects of these regions have relied, almost solely, on vote returns as applied to county boundaries (Jones, 1974; Roark, 1979). But, can the authenticity of regions be established by something other than vote returns and county boundaries?

The problem to be addressed in this study is: does the "country" regionalization, as outlined by the Oklahoma Department of Tourism, provide an adequate scheme for grouping selected political attitudes to the state level?

### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to increase the body of literature on political attitudes as they spatially relate to regions. More specifically, this study seeks to explore the political attitudes among Oklahoma's college youth as they relate to regions and institutions within the state. The regional scheme to be utilized has been created by the state Department of Tourism (in 1979) and will be defined in chapter IV of this thesis. A questionnaire has been developed to measure these political attitudes and, it is believed, to reveal their geographical variation (see Appendix).

The objective and goal of this study is to measure selected political attitudes and beliefs of college students at Oklahoma State University (Chapter III); to better understand spatial variation in Oklahoma politics (Chapters III and IV); and to apply the collected data to a regional scheme illustrating Oklahoma's regional variation (Chapter IV). Toward this end, data was solicited, organized, and analyzed in a regional scheme which highlights the spatial variation in the state's political culture(s). Analysis and presentation of the data rely on cartographic analysis, correlation analysis, and direct comparisons of percentages.

### Importance of the Study

Establishing any political or cultural boundary

invariably rests on the following important question. Is it enough that internal boundaries are drawn so as to facilitate efficient administration of an area, or should the culture and history of the administered area be taken into consideration in an attempt to understand its past and present circumstances and composition? In other words, is it important that decision-makers acknowledge and respect the cultural "glasses" through which a given population views its elected leaders and overall political situation? As such, this study does not propose to set guidelines for the redrawing of Oklahoma's internal boundaries based on areas of differing political attitudes, but only to highlight the political and ideological differences that may, or may not, be present within her own self-defined cultural/economic boundaries. Questions such as these serve not only the population under study, but, more importantly, society in general.

The first step toward understanding geographical differences is the measurement of the extent to which the differences exist. This measurement should be on a micro or local level, if it is to prove relevant for interpretation on the state level. The following thesis will examine political attitudes in this context.

#### Remaining Thesis Organization

A review of the relevant literature follows in Chapter II. It is divided into three main bodies of literature.

The groups are: political science, cultural geography, and political geography. Each adds to this study from a different perspective. The methodology and the presentation and testing of the hypotheses follows in Chapter III. In this chapter, the data set as a whole is analyzed and the results are presented. Chapter IV outlines the regional scheme utilized in the study and then analyzes the data in that context. The final chapter, Chapter V, sums up the findings of this study and offers recommendations for further research.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature review for this study has been divided into three broad categories: political science, cultural geography, and political geography. Each is dealt with here as a separate body of literature.

#### Political Science Literature

Because the focus of this study is on an analysis and greater understanding of Oklahoma's political culture, this study draws much of its preliminary theoretical background from Elazar's American Federalism: A View From the States (1972). In his book, Elazar defines three political subcultures observed within the United States. He defines these as "subcultures" because he believes none operate or exist as independent political cultures in any single area. The political culture in any given area represents a mixture of one or more subcultures. The subcultures are:

- 1) Individualistic - A subculture which "emphasizes the conception of the democratic order as a market place. In its view, government is instituted for strictly utilitarian reasons to handle those functions demanded by the people it is created to serve (Elazar, 1972: 94)."



Politics, within this subculture, are perceived as "dirty."

- 2) Moralistic - A subculture in which "politics is considered one of the great activities of man in his search for the good society ---a struggle for power, it is true, but also an effort to exercise power for the betterment of the commonwealth (Elazar, 1972: 96)." In this subculture, politics are viewed as "healthy."
- 3) Traditionalistic - A subculture which is "rooted in an ambivalent attitude toward the marketplace coupled with a paternalistic and elitist conception of the commonwealth. It reflects an older, precommercial attitude that accepts a substantially hierarchical society as part of the ordered nature of things, authorizing and expecting those at the top of the social structure to take a dominant role in government (Elazar, 1972: 99)." Politics, here, are perceived as "a privilege for the select few."

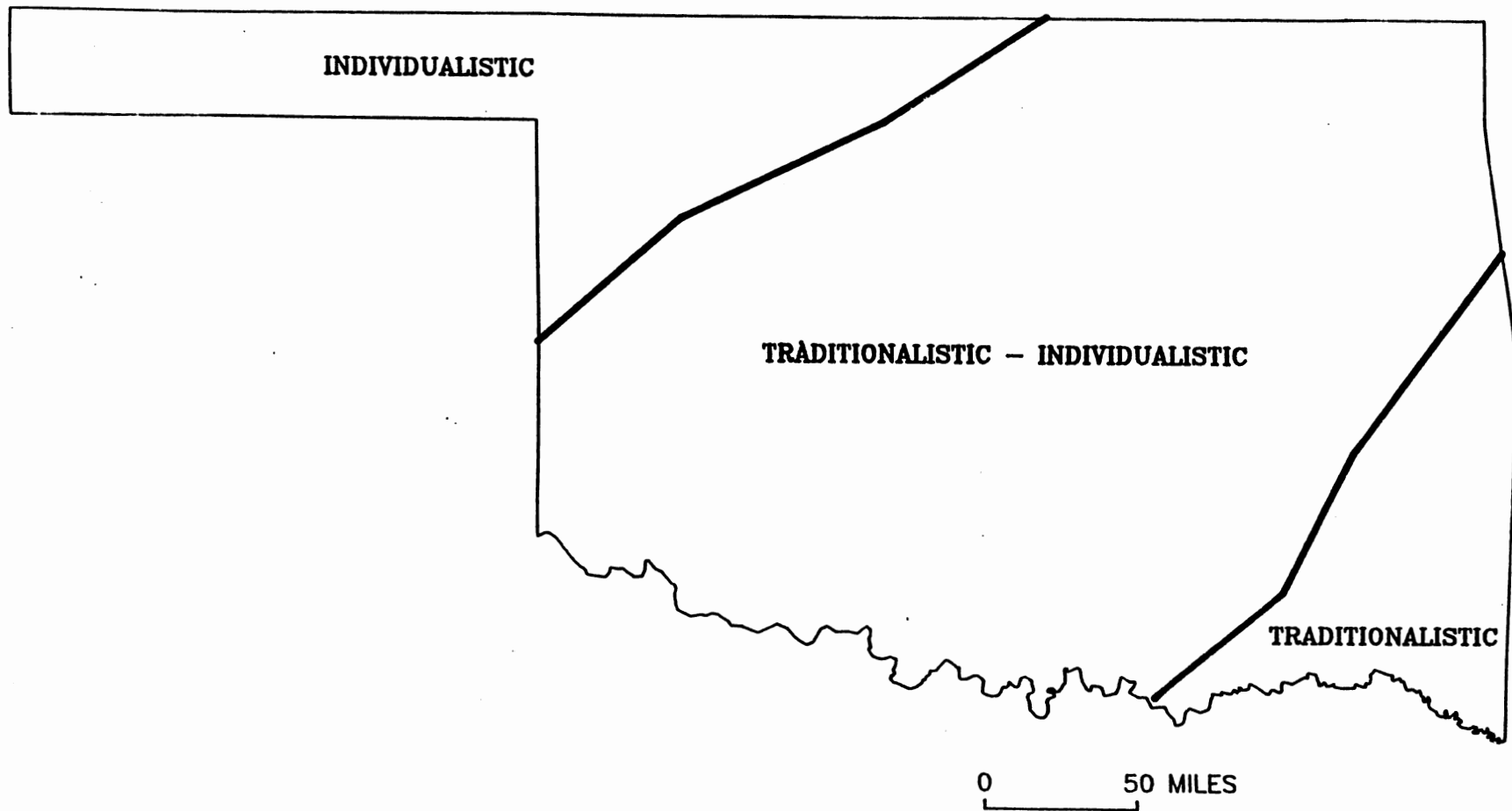
According to Elazar, these three political subcultures, though in different combinations, are at play in the political processes and structures of all of the American states. The traditionalistic subculture maintains a stronghold in the southern and southwestern parts of the country, while the moralistic and individualistic subcultures are most prevalent in the northeast and Great Lakes region, respectively. The study, while not empirical in design, produces some very interesting theoretical propositions. From this study, preliminary outlines of the

regional differences in Oklahoma's political culture are formulated. The theoretical implications of this study have been far reaching and have resulted in numerous other studies.

Interestingly, Elazar categorizes Oklahoma within the Southwest, with a dominant traditionalistic, political culture (Figure 1). Furthermore, he reveals a concentration of this subculture in the south and southeast corner of the state. The central belt of the state, that is from northeast to southwest, is dominated by a traditional subculture with the individualistic subculture as a secondary influence. According to Elazar, the moralistic subculture was only represented in the eastern half of the state and no longer maintains any significant strongholds.

The following studies are other researchers' attempts to empirically test Elazar's subcultures. For the most part, they support his three subcultures and add credibility to Elazar's original categorization.

Johnson (1976) reexamines Elazar's formulation on political culture within the American states utilizing data obtained from the U.S. Commerce Department's Census of Religious Bodies. From this data, Johnson was able to create indices corresponding to Elazar's three subcultures. His indices are products of all of the major religious concentrations by political-cultural leaning. In his study, he reveals a statistically significant relationship between Elazar's three political subcultures and his own six



Source: D. Elazar, *American Federalism: A View From The States*. (1972).

Figure 1. Elazar's Political Regionalization of Oklahoma

dependent variables: 1) government activities, 2) local emphasis and administration of programs, 3) innovative activity by the government, 4) encouragement of popular participation in elections, 5) popular participation in elections, and 6) party competition. Furthermore, his findings remained statistically significant after controlling for socioeconomic variables. In this context, he establishes that one cannot avoid the examination of political culture when analyzing the political processes and/or attitudes in a given state.

Another study, that of Welch and Peters (1980) examines Elazar's subcultures as they relate to the prediction of the attitudes of state legislators on key policy issues. The variables under study include social and economic liberalism and the legislators' attitudes toward political corruption. In this study, it was found that Elazar's subcultures are helpful indicators of response when state legislators are confronted with various political scenarios such as corruption or the enactment of new policies. The individualistic subculture, which dominates most of northwestern Oklahoma, was found to be the most moderate on both economic and social issues, whereas, the other two were found to be more reactionary on both sides of the political spectrum. The results of this study reveal statistically significant findings between key policy issues and the political culture of the selected state legislators under study.

Joslyn's (1980) study analyzes the impact of political culture on public opinion and the content of political campaign advertising. Testing Elazar's theory empirically, Joslyn found that the relationship between a person residing in a given subculture area and that same person's individual political attitudes was modest. However, the study does show that the dominance of a political culture in the most populous areas of a state will tend to sway the total subculture of that state toward the individualistic, or moderate, subculture. Though somewhat less convincingly than earlier studies, the results of this study support Elazar's original theory. The same held true in regard to political campaign advertising. That is, the difference in subculture directly affects the difference in messages presented in campaign advertising. This should come as no great surprise because successful political candidates have historically maintained a moderate predisposition toward local issues and policies.

Hanson (1980) tests Elazar's political subcultures against interparty competition and political efficacy. In other words, he sought to measure the extent to which political culture affected the process of interparty relations and the ability of those parties to obtain a desired political result. Furthermore, his analysis examines both as they relate to Elazar's subcultures in an effort to explain the varying degree of voter turnout among states. His results support his hypothesis concerning the

relation between voter turnout and interparty competition and political efficacy. In addition, Hanson's study shows that political culture is not just a psychological conceptualization of politics, but that it is more an objective feature of political culture which limits the situations of the society's political actors. In this light, one can assume that political culture not only establishes the norms of a political system, but will also determine to some extent the amount of participation a sub-culture will exercise in that society's political arena.

Utilizing a data set with over fifty thousand respondents, Erikson, McIver, and Wright (1987) analyze the influence of state of residence on political attitudes. The study found that a respondent's state of residence is an important predictor of partisan and ideological identification on the national level. A statistically significant relationship existed regardless of demographic characteristics. The importance of state political culture is established, in that the effect on partisanship and ideology account for about one half of the variance in state voting in recent presidential elections (Erikson et al., 1987). Furthermore, the authors postulate the importance of geographic location as an equally important consideration in understanding political cultures.

Nardulli (1990) seeks to empirically test Elazar's subcultures on an individual level. His results reveal major weaknesses in Elazar's original theory. One major

weakness in the theory has to do with the inconsistencies observed when attempting to categorize specific states and/or areas within states. Nardulli attempts to correct these inconsistencies by creating survey-based categorical groups. These new categorizations were more consistent in explaining the limited facets of political behavior, e.g., "roles of parties, principles, and elites" or "strength of identification." The most important aspect of this study is the state-level or more micro-scale utilized.

The studies above contribute to a better understanding of Elazar's theory on political subcultures. For the purposes of this thesis, these studies highlight the need for further research on political attitudes and beliefs. The importance of political culture as a determinant in the formulation of these attitudes is also well-documented.

The remaining studies in the political science section of this literature review focus on variation in political attitudes and their continued presence in American society. These studies are not necessarily related to Elazar's subcultures, but they do address the same issues.

Seeking to explain variations in state and local public policy, Lovrich, Daynes and Ginger (1980) have applied a cultural-historical methodology to a specific case study, i.e., Indiana. The results of their study suggest that one can explain much about the current local political policies by approaching the problem through this type of methodology which focuses on past political patterns. The utilization

of a methodology which focuses on past political patterns is particularly useful when analyzing a single state. This micro-level application helps to define political regions' boundaries within a state.

On a national scale, Glenn and Simmons (1967) have created a framework to measure whether or not regional cultural differences in the United States are actually diminishing as technology and mass media communications increase. Their study is based on a previously formulated position which maintains that as technology and communication media expand, regional cultural cleavages will diminish to the point that American society may become more politically homogeneous. However, the results of the Glenn and Simmons study did not support this assumption. Instead the exact opposite was shown. In fact, in some areas, most notably in the South, the patterns reveal a trend toward the intensification of these regional cleavages. Regional intensification is expected in Oklahoma because of the differences in economy, history, and environment.

### Cultural Geography

The field of cultural geography adds to this study by analyzing the spatial variation in American culture as it directly relates to place. The relationship between people, culture, and place is at the center of this study.

The Indian Territory, which was to form the other half of what would become the state of Oklahoma, had a unique



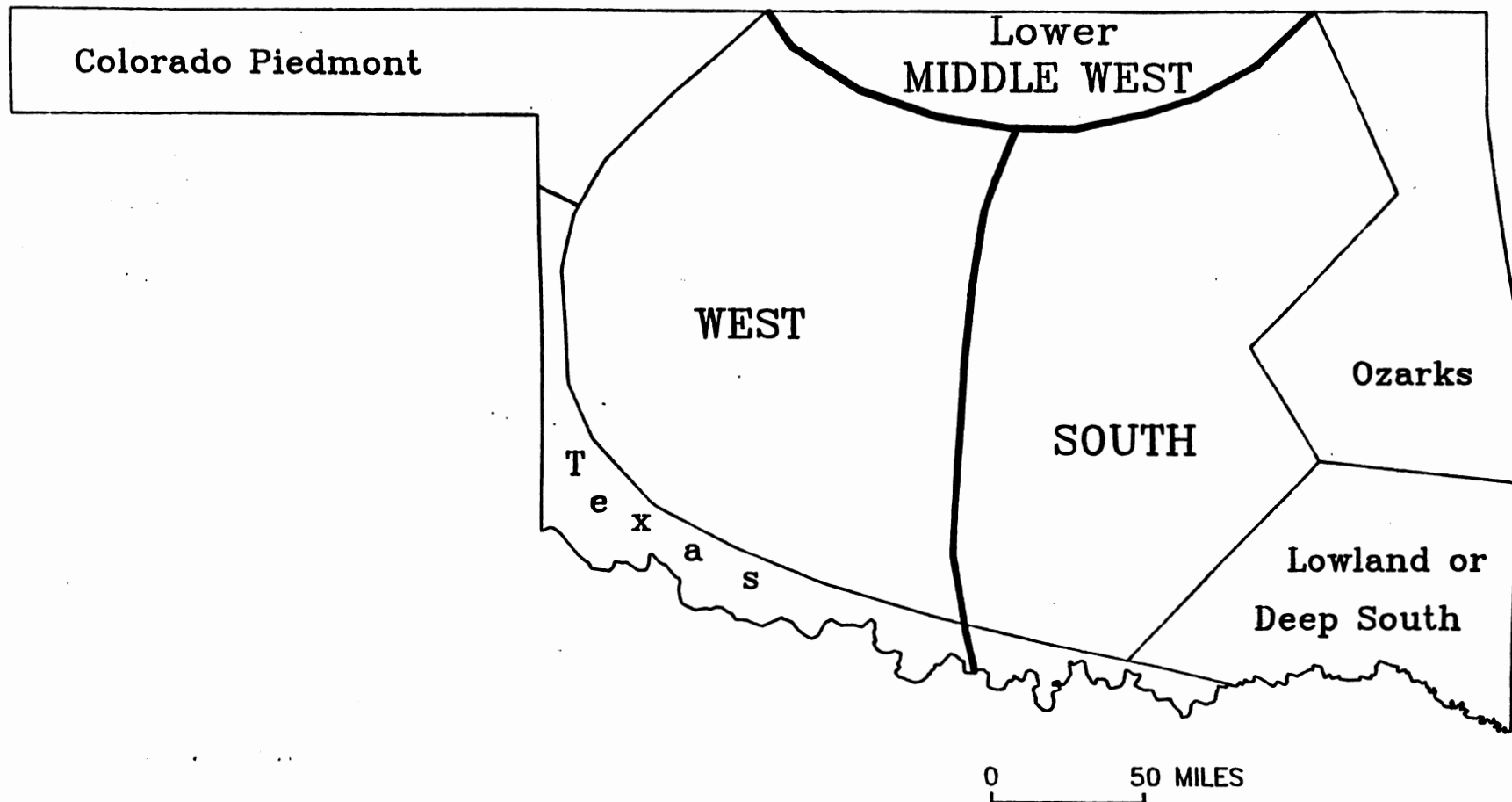
settlement history. The Indian Territory was originally divided between the Native Americans of the southeastern part of the country who were evicted in the early 19th century. As such, many of the political ideas and beliefs of the southern states were transported with them to their new home. Some were slave owners, thus continuing connections with the South through later immigration influenced cultural formations.

Beginning in 1898, the Oklahoma Territory was opened for many sequential occupations by white settlers. These sequential "openings" brought new settlers in from all areas of the United States. On each occasion, settlers lined up around this new "land of opportunity" west of the Indian Territory, they stood ready to transport their respective cultures and attitudes into what would later become the forty-sixth state of the United States. As one might suppose, most lined up in close proximity to the areas that were nearest to their original homes. From this vantage, settlers from the Midwestern states stood ready to enter Oklahoma from the north and northeast and, conversely, those from the southern states at the southern boundary of the territory. Due in large part to these early settlement patterns, the union of the Indian and Oklahoma Territories in 1907 created a political landscape like no other in the nation. In addition, the sequential openings further diversified these cultural patterns in many areas of the state.

According to Wilbur Zelinsky, in his The Cultural Geography of the United States, Oklahoma represents a state which draws cohesiveness from the past heterogeneity of the population (114). He lists three principal sources of Oklahoma's cultural landscape (Figure 2). They are, in his order of importance, the South, divided into the Upland South (Ozarks) and Lowland South; the West; and the Middle West (118-119). Of these four early cultural influences, Zelinsky maintains that the South and West are most significant. In his analysis, Oklahoma's cultural identity is still too immature to constitute a sub-region in and of itself.

In stark contrast to the above classification, Gastil (1975) and Doran (1974) view Oklahoma's cultural composition as one of a general dichotomy. In both studies, the northern half of Oklahoma, including the Panhandle, is decidedly Midwestern in cultural outlook. The only exception to this generalization is the northeastern corner which was occupied by large concentrations of relocated Indians. Somewhat strangely, neither of the studies adequately address the diffusion and intermingling of the respective cultures at the fringe areas of the cultural strongholds. Without question, this process did occur because of the few, if any, physical barriers which exist to dissuade the process.

Gastil, following the pattern of Zelinsky, did attribute the peripheral areas of the state to surrounding



Source: W. Zelinsky, *Cultural Geography of the United States* , (1973).

Figure 2. Zelinsky's Cultural Map of Oklahoma

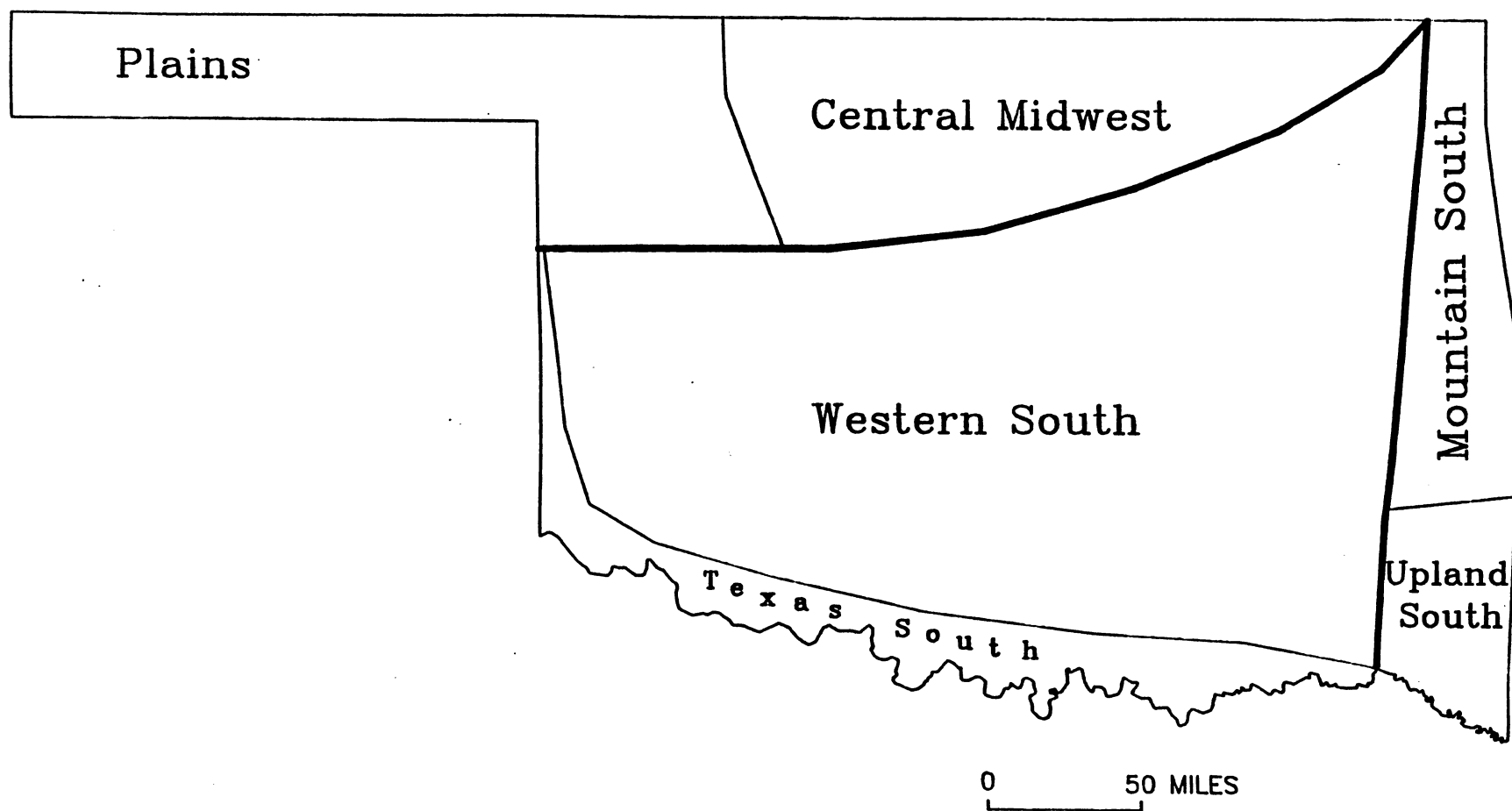
areas. However, he is much more specific in his outline. Dividing the southern half of the state into two spheres, Gastil terms the spheres Western South, the area heavily influenced by Texas' cultural patterns, and the Mountain and Upland South regions, sharing similarities with the eastern South (Figure 3). According to Gastil, the area of Oklahoma referred to as "Little Dixie" (the far southeastern corner of the state) is an extension of the Upland South, a physical area sharing many of the same cultural attributes of the Deep South. Occupying a strip along the Arkansas border, the other subdivision of Gastil's Eastern South is referred to as the Mountain (i.e., the Ozarks) South.

From a different viewpoint, Doran (1974) maintains that little, if any, population intermingling occurred. Furthermore, he postulates that all of the cultural regions of the state represent extensions of adjacent cultural areas. His map of the cultural composition of the state is split between the northerly located Midwestern cultural realm and the Southern cultural realm (Figure 4).

Roark (1979) observes that though the exact boundaries of the cultural areas are in dispute, all agree on the state's multicultural composition. In his opinion, it is precisely this scenario which has contributed so much to the present cultural landscape of the state (129-136).

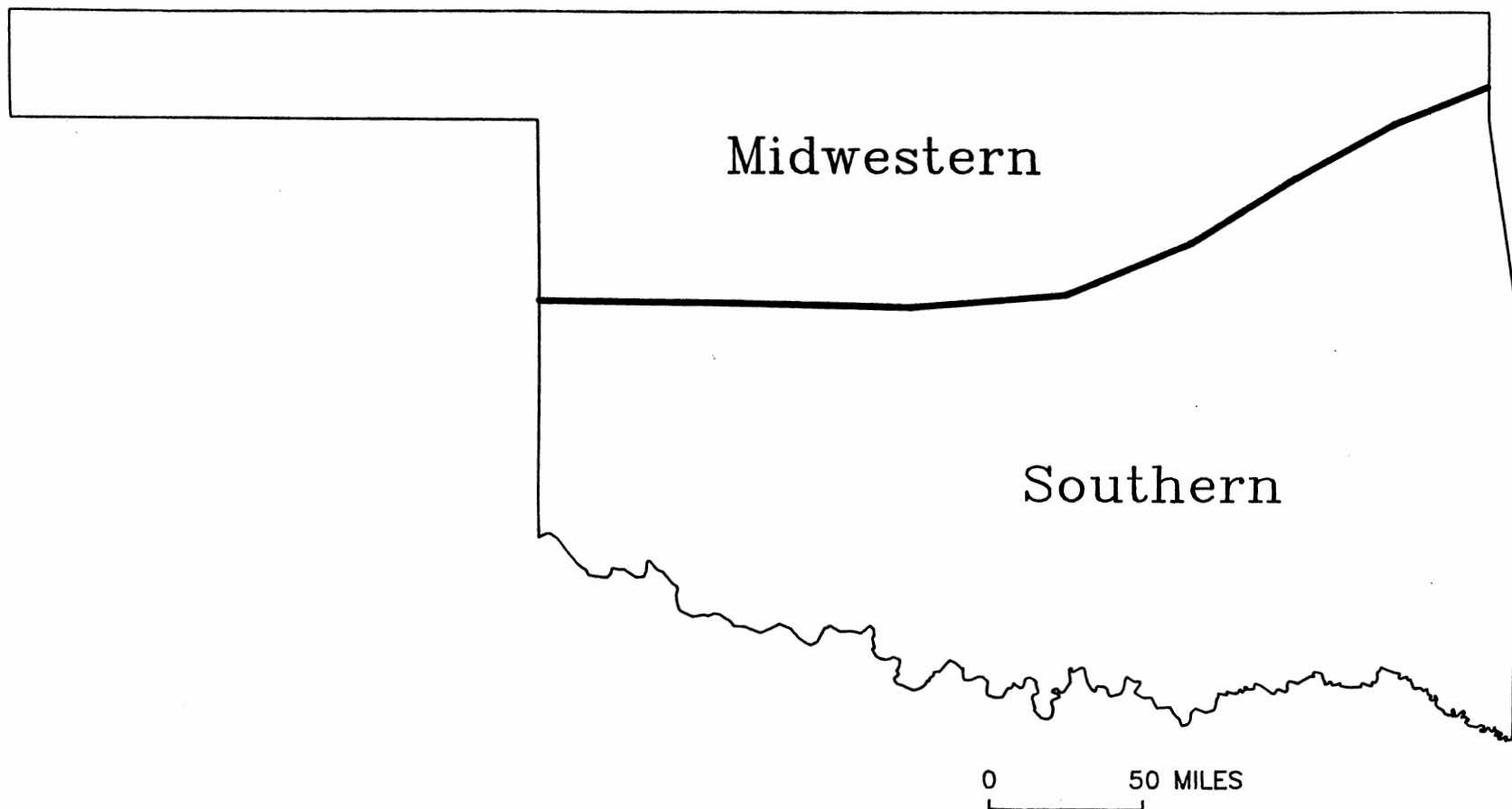
#### Political Geography

Some political geographers seek to analyze political



Source: R. Gastil, *Cultural Regions of the United States* (1975).

Figure 3. Gastil's Cultural Map of Oklahoma



Source: M. Doran, "Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma, 1830 to 1900," 1974

Figure 4. Doran's Cultural Map of Oklahoma

beliefs and attitudes as they relate to spatial variation. The studies included here can be divided into those which concentrate on the relationship between the 1) political core and periphery and 2) those studies dealing with the "neighborhood" effect.

### Core-Periphery Studies

Of the studies which explore the relationship between the political core and periphery, several are dealt with here. These works seek to understand and define the relationship between the core of a given political entity and the peripheral area.

Frequently utilized to analyze the unequal distribution of power or economic wealth in a country, the core-periphery model has also been utilized to establish political and/or cultural regions. Johnston (1989) defines the model as "a spatial organization of human activity" in which "the core dominates (although it in turn may be dominated from outside) whilst the periphery is dependent (73)." An objective of this study is to test for the existence of core/peripheral relationships in the data set.

Utilizing electoral data, Agnew (1984) defines the relationship between place and political behavior, especially as it relates to the electoral base of the Scottish National Party in Scotland. His findings reveal that the fringe (or peripheral) areas of Scotland represent the stronghold of the Scottish National Party, a party which

has always claimed a national mandate over the entire Scottish population. Agnew maintains that the core areas, that is the more urban and populous areas, reflect a more outward look in their politics and, hence reflect patterns which more closely resemble the general country-wide patterns of political preference. On the other hand, the fringe or peripheral areas are more inward and nationalistic in orientation. The identification of a political entity's core area allows for comparisons between rural and urban or between core and periphery. The general core of Oklahoma runs from Tulsa to Oklahoma City and is the product of the two territorial histories mentioned earlier. However, it is quite possible that both urban areas constitute independent core areas. This issue will be addressed later in the thesis.

The work of Steed (1986), likewise, supports the future use of the core-periphery model in political geography. His study, focusing on the British national scene, shuns the traditional viewpoint that British politics can be explained by analyzing the three component countries of England, Scotland, and Wales. Instead, Steed shows empirically that British politics is better defined in terms of the core-periphery model. The enormous power of the English core, i.e., the electorate in and around the lowlands centered on London, overwhelms the lesser populated areas of Scotland and Wales.

The study of Doran (1987) analyzes the core-periphery



model in the political evolution of Virginia. In his study, Doran locates and charts the early nuclear cores of the state of Virginia. His study utilizes records of the earliest stabilized county boundaries to show how the political core of Virginia has shifted westward through time.

The three studies discussed above reveal possibilities as to how future research might distinguish between core and periphery within political entities. In addition, they show that variation does in fact exist between these spatial entities.

#### "Neighborhood Effect" Studies

Literature exploring the "neighborhood effect" centers on the hypothesis that friends and neighbors are the major supporters of candidates' from the same area because of proximity. In other words, the "neighborhood effect" seeks to explain the extent a candidate's home location impacts political support. Most of the studies in this area rely on voting returns for testable data.

Tatalovich's (1975) study analyzes the relationship between a candidate and his/her "friends and neighbors." Tatalovich's findings establish a direct relationship between the area the candidates are from and the amount of electoral support they are able to garnish from that same area. The candidates' home location and distance between them and the electorate are significant aspects in the

political equation.

Parker (1982) examines the relationship between "friends and neighbors" voting behavior in the Republic of Ireland. In this study, local voter support for "home" candidates is shown to be statistically significant in relation to candidates not from this "home" area. Furthermore, an indication of the relative strength of distance-decay in accounting for the spatial variations of this phenomena is also observed and presented.

Another study, that of Laponce (1987), also analyzes the neighborhood effect on voting among the French-speaking minorities in Canada. In this work, Laponce establishes that the neighborhood effect is a direct function of geographic concentration and the ethnic loyalty of the respondents. If one follows the logic of the two studies above, one might presume that political loyalties are also subject to geographic proximity of elected leaders to their supporters.

Finally, Johnston (1987) explores the relationship between place and voting showing that place is a more significant variable than are socioeconomic ones. His central thesis rejects conventional ideas concerning demographics as voting indicators and instead argues that a person's location is a much more valuable indicator for voter outcome prediction. Focusing on those people from the working-class, Johnston shows "that where people lived in England in 1983 was clearly related to how they voted." In

light of this, the relationship between where one lives would then be expected to relate to one's attitudes toward various political phenomena.

The literature as outlined above adds much to this study as a whole. The political science literature provides the theoretical basis for the observation of different political cultures and the characteristics to be expected from those cultures. In addition, rough outlines as to the present and past political/cultural boundaries of Oklahoma were provided from these studies. The cultural geography literature contributes to this study, in that it provides keys to past and present influences on the cultural composition of the state. In addition, it also roughly outlines areas from which differing cultural characteristics should be observed.

Finally, the political geography literature offers the spatial framework from which Oklahoma political culture is to be viewed. The concepts of core-periphery and the "neighborhood effect" allow for a better appraisal of the spatial attributes of this cultural composition.

In the next chapter the methodology and hypotheses of this study are presented. In addition, the data set is analyzed as a group and the results of this analysis are given.

## CHAPTER III

### EXAMINING THE DATA

The goal and purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodological approach utilized in this study, to analyze the general characteristics of the collected data, and to present and test the proposed hypotheses. In an effort to better understand the study group, a profile is made of the typical respondent.

#### Methodology

Because the measurement of political attitudes and beliefs is at the center of this study, a questionnaire was developed which solicited both demographic and issue-based answers. The questionnaire was completed by students in a self-conducted, classroom environment. A copy of the questionnaire is attached (see Appendix).

Approximately 1200 questionnaires were completed by undergraduate students enrolled in introductory geography courses at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma. These included physical, cultural, and world regional courses. The data collecting process was conducted during the first week of the Fall semester of 1990. Completed questionnaires, returned by students who did not attend high school in Oklahoma, were disregarded resulting

in 989 usable forms. This action was taken based on the assumption that political socialization is most active and formative during these years, and that students having attended high school within the state are presumed to be more familiar with Oklahoma's elected officials and political institutions than are students from other states or countries. The resulting 989 usable questionnaires were then coded and entered into a data base file.

Although a study population representing a cross section of the entire population could have been used, college students were chosen because they most likely represent the future political leaders and voters of the state. Likewise, it is a premise of this study that not only are the student's political attitudes and beliefs a function of the political socializing process by way of their parents, as has already been shown, but that it is also a function of place or location.

#### Major Research Questions

In this study the differing patterns of political regionalism on certain solicited issues will be measured and shown to exist within the borders of Oklahoma. Furthermore, this effort attempts to ascertain whether or not this political regionalism is consistent with past studies of Oklahoma's political make-up. Finally, an attempt is made to utilize the "country" regionalization scheme, as outlined by the Oklahoma Board of Tourism, to further analyze and

present the data.

### Major Hypothesis

The major hypothesis of this study is that the geographical variation in student political attitudes reflects patterns of political regionalism in Oklahoma.

### Minor Hypotheses

There are several minor hypotheses included within this study. They are based on the literature review and attempt to test concepts outlined earlier. Hypotheses 1 through 3 are directed toward a better understanding of the respondent's source of political information. Hypotheses 4, 5, and 6 attempt to solicit responses as to the respondent's political culture and party loyalty as both are related to place and, by extension, to the neighborhood effect. The remaining four hypotheses, 7 through 10, stem from the core-periphery concept and seek to discern the spatial attributes of the respondent's political culture.

The hypotheses are as follows:

- 1) The respondent's political preference is positively correlated to his/her parent's political preference.
- 2) Democrats are more likely to rely on friends or family members for their local political information.
- 3) Republicans are more likely to rely on television or newspapers for their local political information.

- 4) Political party preference and the respondent's attitude toward candidate advertisements that appear on fence posts and billboards are unrelated.
- 5) The respondent's party preference and his/her attitude toward the overall political orientation of the state is positively correlated. That is, the respondent's attitude toward Oklahoma's overall political orientation is the same as the respondent's political party preference.
- 6) Republicans favor Bellmon's performance more than Democrats.
- 7) The distance of the respondent's home county and his/her negative attitude toward the capital's failure to address the respondent's hometown needs is positively correlated.
- 8) Distance is positively correlated with the respondent's disapproval rate.
- 9) A positive relationship exists between the location of the respondent's hometown and the attitude that respondent has regarding to which political region Oklahoma most belongs.
- 10) Respondents from peripheral or fringe areas of the state and their attitude toward the total cohesiveness of the state is positively related.

The analytical tests utilized in this study are direct comparisons of percentages and correlation analysis. In addition to the above, a considerable amount of the analysis utilized in this study relies on cartographic methods. In

this process, the data were mapped with trends and patterns evaluated through direct observation.

### General Tendencies

The first step in the analysis of the data set was to establish a profile of the typical respondent. Certain characteristics are overwhelming, while others are not exactly clear. The typical respondent is a 20 year-old male, who identifies politically as a moderate within the Republican party. He has lived approximately 14 years (13.93) in his hometown and a total of 17 years (17.07) within the state of Oklahoma. He identifies both of his parents as Democrats. This may reveal a change in the state's overall political outlook, but this is not conclusive.

An examination of the data set as a whole reveals that of the 989 respondents, 300 (or 30.3%) are students in the College of Business, 294 (29.7%) are in the College of Arts and Sciences, 156 (15.8%) in the College of Education, 84 (8.5%) in the College of Engineering, 15 (1.5%) in the College of Home Economics, 10 (1.0%) in the College of Agriculture, and the remaining 130 (13.1%) are undecided. The number of respondents by college roughly represents a cross section of the university population by percentage of students enrolled in the various colleges.

Of the group, 542 (54.8%) of the respondents identify, politically, with the Republican party. While only 305



(30.8%) identify themselves Democrats. Of the remaining respondents, 42 (4.2%) stated they are Independents and 100 (10.1%) claimed no party preference.

On the question soliciting the respondent's measure of identity (i.e., conservative to liberal) within their respective party preference, 454 (45.9%) identify as moderates (Table 1). Of the remainder, 239 (24.2%) identify as conservatives, 158 (16.0%) as liberals, 29 (2.9%) as strong conservatives, and 21 (2.1%) as strong liberals. The two categories which were preceded by the adjective "strong" received very little preference by the respondents. The remaining 88 (8.9%) claim no measure of identity. An analysis of the respondent's measure of identity in relation to party preference presents an interesting scenario. Of the Republican respondents, 239, or 24.2% of the entire data set, identify as moderates. While 172, or 17.4%, of the Democrats claimed to be moderates. In the Independent subgroup, 26 of the 42 "Independent" respondents claimed to be moderate. The other measures of identity are roughly the same in proportion to each of the other categories, irrespective of party preference. In none of the other groupings, save the "conservative Republicans" at 192 (19.4%), did the total percentage exceed 7 percent of the total respondents.

#### Testing the Hypotheses

Testing the hypotheses relied heavily on Spearman's

TABLE 1  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS BY POLITICAL  
PREFERENCE AND MEASURE OF IDENTITY

	REPUBLICAN			DEMOCRAT			INDEPENDENT		
	#	-	%	#	-	%	#	-	%
STRONG CONSERVATIVE	25		2.5	4		0.4	0		0.0
Row Percent			86.2			13.7			0.0
Col Percent			4.6			1.3			0.0
CONSERVATIVE	192		19.4	42		4.2	5		0.5
Row Percent			80.3			17.5			2.0
Col Percent			35.4			13.7			11.9
MODERATE	239		24.1	172		17.3	26		2.6
Row Percent			52.6			37.8			5.7
Col Percent			44.1			56.3			61.9
LIBERAL	71		7.1	69		6.9	9		0.9
Row Percent			44.9			43.6			5.7
Col Percent			13.1			22.6			21.4
STRONG LIBERAL	6		0.6	13		1.3	1		0.1
Row Percent			28.5			61.9			4.7
Col Percent			1.1			4.2			2.3
NO ANSWER	9		0.9	5		0.5	1		0.1
Row Percent			10.2			5.6			1.1
Col Percent			1.6			1.6			2.3
TOTAL	542			305			42		100

rank coefficient, a statistical test which does not assume a normally distributed data set. The raw data were aggregated to the county level. In this process, the data are first ranked and then correlated against each other based on the aggregated subgroups. In the absence of a normal distribution, many of the variables correlated rather weakly, but are adequate for this purpose.

The first hypothesis maintained that a respondent's political preference is positively correlated to his or her parent's political preference. Analysis of the three variables supported this hypothesis. The correlation coefficient for the respondent and his or her father was .28, with a confidence interval (CI) of plus or minus 5%. Though somewhat low, it is positively correlated. Interestingly, the correlational coefficient for the respondent and his or her mother was higher at .31, thus suggesting that, in the study group, the respondent's mother has more of a political influence over her children than does the father. The coefficient for the parents in relation to each other was even higher at .67 (CI = plus or minus 5%).

The second hypothesis stated that Democrats are more likely to rely on friends or family members for their local political information than are those with other party preferences (Table 2). It was originally presumed that a person's personal preference for a specific political

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS BY POLITICAL PREFERENCE AND  
MEDIUM OF INFORMATION THEY LEAST AND MOST RELY ON

## LEAST RELY ON

	TV	RADIO	NEWSPAPER	FAMILY	FRIENDS
REPUBLICAN	6.8	26.8	12.5	12.5	40.7
DEMOCRAT	8.5	24.2	11.1	11.8	43.9
INDEPENDENT	21.4	11.9	9.5	16.6	38.1
NONE	6.0	31.0	17.0	19.0	27.0

## MOST RELY ON

	TV	RADIO	NEWSPAPER	FAMILY	FRIENDS
REPUBLICAN	65.8	2.5	19.7	6.6	0.9
DEMOCRAT	61.6	3.6	22.6	7.2	2.9
INDEPENDENT	40.4	4.7	30.9	9.5	4.7
NONE	62.0	2.0	14.0	10.0	3.0

NOTE: Row totals which do not equal 100% are the result  
of some of the respondent's failure to answer  
this question.

information medium was a function of that respondent's political culture. However, only 2.9% of the Democrats rely on their friends and, similarly, only 7.2% rely on their families. Instead, the category with the largest percentage of support is that of television at 61.6%.

The third hypothesis is closely related to the second, in that, it maintains that Republicans are more likely to rely on television or newspapers for their local political information. While this hypothesis is supported, i.e., 65.8% for television and 19.7% for newspapers, the relationship is believed to be spurious. The high percentage rate of television by both Democrats and Republicans leads to the proposition that, in fact, the twentieth century may have supplanted the traditional mode of transmission, i.e., the family, with more advanced means, such as television or radio.

The fourth hypothesis stated that a respondent's party preference and his or her attitude toward billboard campaign advertisements are unrelated. Correlation analysis reveals that there is a very weak negative relationship between the two variables. The coefficient of correlation is  $-.02$  (with  $CI = \text{plus or minus } 5\%$ ). Because the coefficient is weak, it is reasonable to assume that there may be another unsolicited variable that explains more of the variance.

The fifth hypothesis addressed the respondent's party preference against his or her attitude toward the overall political orientation of the state. The stated relationship

was believed to be positively correlated. Instead, the data analysis reveals a negative correlation ( $-.04$ , CI = plus or minus 5%) between the two variables. The stated hypothesis is rejected and the null hypothesis is accepted.

The sixth hypothesis states that Republicans favor Bellmon's performance more than Democrats. The data marginally supports the hypothesis. The percentage of Republicans in favor of his performance at 21.2% is slightly greater than the 19.0% of Democrats that express the same attitude. Overall, both major political preferences (37.6% for Republicans and 45.2% for Democrats) disfavor his performance as governor.

The seventh hypothesis maintains that the distance of the respondent's home county and his or her negative attitude toward the capital's failure to address the respondent's hometown needs is positively correlated. Distance, for both this hypothesis and the next, was calculated by creating an artificial variable of distance, that is the closer the respondent's home county to Oklahoma county, the smaller the assigned distance value. The counties bordering on Oklahoma county, the home county of state government, were assigned the value of one (1) whereas the value for the farthest, i.e., Cimarron county in the Panhandle, was thirteen (13). The counties in between were then scaled in relation to these two extremes. The hypothesis is supported by the data. However, at .18 (with a CI = plus or minus 5%) the relationship is not very

strong.

Closely related to the previous hypothesis, the eighth hypothesis states that distance is positively correlated to the disapproval rate. The same procedure discussed above was utilized to analyze distance. The coefficient, at .40 (with a CI = plus or minus 5%) is moderately strong and, as such, supports the hypothesis.

The ninth minor hypothesis maintains that a positive relationship exists between the home locality of the respondent and the attitude that respondent has regarding which political region Oklahoma most belongs. While the hypothesis is supported, the coefficient, at .10 (CI = plus or minus 5%) is not very strong. The implications of this hypothesis will be expanded upon in the following chapter.

The tenth, and final hypothesis, maintains that respondents from peripheral or fringe areas of the state and their attitude toward the total cohesiveness of the state is positively related. The coefficient, at .02 (CI = plus or minus 5%), is not significant enough to support the hypothesis. The null hypothesis is accepted.

The picture, as presented by the testing of the hypotheses, is one of many very weak to moderate relationships between the designated variables. However, from a spatial viewpoint, one can gain a better appreciation for the data set. The goal of the next chapter is to aggregate the data to regional levels and then analyze it through the comparison of percentages and by cartographic analysis.

## CHAPTER IV

### REGIONALIZING THE DATA

In order to determine the regional characteristics of the respondents, the collected data were aggregated to a regional level. The regionalization scheme utilized is the "countries" categorization as outlined by the Oklahoma Department of Tourism. The six regions or "countries" are: Red Carpet, in the northwest and Panhandle; Green, in the northeast; Frontier, in the central part of the state; Great Plains, in the southwestern corner; Lake, in south central Oklahoma; and Kiamichi, in the far southeastern corner (Figure 5). These "countries," as outlined by the Department of Tourism, not only incorporate the geographical proximity of the counties included, but also considers the economic and cultural histories of these areas. It is for the latter reason that this scheme was chosen.

#### Demographic Variables

Once again the data were analyzed according to the demographic variables of the regions. The results of the respondents by country and college are presented in Table 3. The College of Arts and Sciences, at 294 respondents, and the College of Business, at 300 respondents, constitute a full 63.2% of the study group.



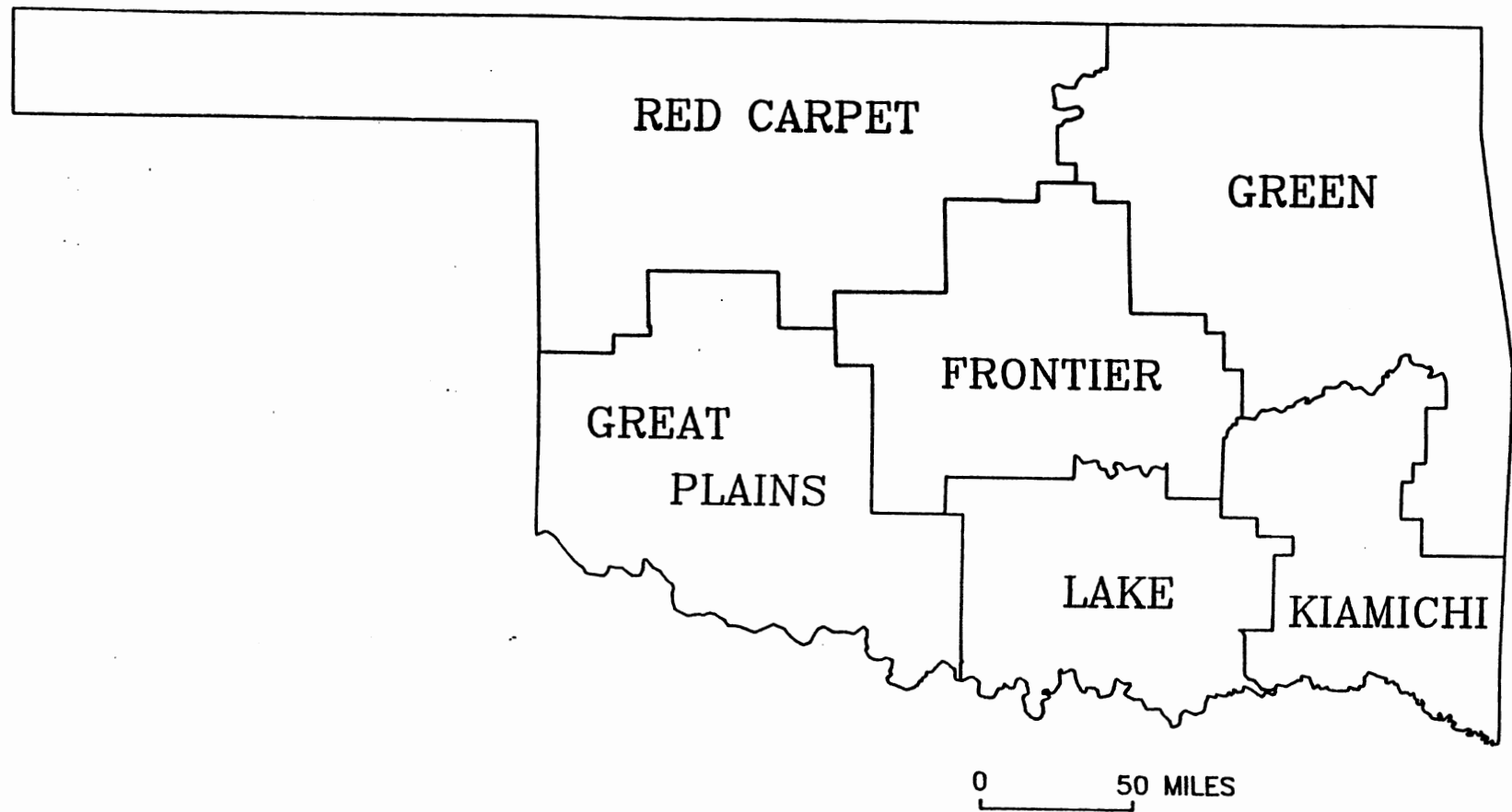


Figure 5. The Oklahoma Department of Tourism's "Countries"

TABLE 3  
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS BY COUNTRY & COLLEGE

COUNTRY (# OF RESP)	A&S	ENG	HOME C	AGR	BUS	EDUC	NONE
RED CARPET (129)	25.5	9.3	1.6	1.6	31.0	20.9	10.1
GREEN (448)	31.0	9.4	1.6	0.7	29.0	17.2	11.2
GREAT PLAINS (67)	19.4	3.0	3.0	1.5	43.3	13.4	16.4
FRONTIER (314)	31.2	8.6	1.0	1.3	28.7	12.4	16.9
LAKE (17)	35.3	0.0	5.9	0.0	41.2	11.8	5.9
KIAMICHI (14)	35.7	7.1	0.0	0.0	28.6	14.3	14.3
% OF TOTAL	29.6	6.2	2.1	0.85	33.6	15.0	12.4
TOTAL	(294)	(84)	(15)	(10)	(300)	(156)	(130)

As was expected the majority of the respondents fell into Frontier and Green Countries (Table 4). This is due to the location of the state's two most populous urban areas, Oklahoma City and Tulsa, respectively, in those countries. The data set is almost equally split between male and female respondents.

The political preference of the regionalized study group closely parallels past observations of the political make-up of the respective areas of the state. The two traditional Republican areas of Green and Red Carpet Countries both display strong Republican majorities (Table 5). In fact, a full 46.3% of all of the Republicans in the study population are from Green Country. The three southern most countries all have Democratic majorities. Frontier Country, a traditional stronghold of the Democratic party, has a surprising Republican majority, at 53.8%, in the study group this may reflect the age of respondents and point to future trends.

The mean age of the respondents ranges from 20.9 years old in Red Carpet Country to 19.2 years of age in Kiamichi Country. The mean number of years in spent in their respective hometown ranges from 13.2 years in Frontier Country to 15.4 years in Lake Country. The mean number of years spent in Oklahoma varies from 16.4 years in Green Country to 19.1 years in Lake Country.

The results of question 10 have been tabulated by country in Table 6. The majority of respondents,

TABLE 4  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS BY  
COUNTRY AND SEX

# --- %	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RED CARPET	68 (52.7)	61 (47.3)	129 (13.0)
GREEN	239 (53.3)	209 (46.7)	448 (45.3)
GREAT PLAINS	37 (55.2)	30 (44.8)	67 (6.7)
FRONTIER	169 (53.8)	145 (46.2)	314 (31.7)
LAKE	10 (58.8)	7 (41.2)	17 (1.7)
KIAMICHI	7 (50.0)	7 (50.0)	14 (1.4)
TOTAL	530 (53.5)	459 (46.4)	989

TABLE 5  
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS AND PERCENTAGE BY COUNTRY  
AND POLITICAL PARTY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	INDEPENDENT	NONE
	#	#	#	#
	---	---	---	---
	%	%	%	%
RED CARPET	82	33	1	13
(129)	(63.5)	(25.5)	(0.2)	(10.0)
GREEN	251	121	22	54
(448)	(56.0)	(27.0)	(4.9)	(12.0)
GREAT PLAINS	33	31	1	2
(67)	(49.2)	(46.2)	(0.2)	(0.0)
FRONTIER	169	99	17	29
(314)	(53.8)	(31.5)	(5.4)	(0.0)
LAKE	4	11	1	1
(17)	(23.3)	(64.7)	(0.2)	(0.0)
KIAMICHI	3	10	0	1
(14)	(21.4)	(71.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)
TOTAL	542	305	42	100
(% OF TOTAL)	(54.8)	(30.8)	(4.2)	(10.1)

irrespective of home country, rely on television for their political information. Newspapers constitute the next largest concentration of support ranging from 0.0% in Kiamichi to 23.5% in Lake Country. Of the five categories offered to the respondents, family, as a source of political information, appears to be a mostly southern characteristic. As outlined by Elazar, reliance on the family or patron is a characteristic of southern politics. Kiamichi, at 28.5%; Lake, at 17.6%; and Great Plains, at 13.4%, all have percentages greater on this issue than those of the northern half of the state.

The results of the medium of information on which the respondents least rely has been tabulated in Table 6. The largest percentages on this variable is friends. Though not clarified, friends here was to mean friends at home. However, it is possible that this was interpreted to mean friends at the university. These percentages range from 33.4% in Frontier Country to 53.7% in Great Plains Country. The results on this issue follow Elazar's characteristics of the individualistic subculture in that the individual asserts his or her independence in the political process and is less likely to admit to relying on an outside influence when making his or her choices. Percentages of least support are reported in the southern countries (Table 6). The regional patterns on this question are minor and exist in the form of a northern versus southern pattern.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS BY COUNTRY AND MEDIUM OF  
INFORMATION WHICH THEY LEAST AND MOST RELY ON

## LEAST RELY ON

COUNTRY (# of Resp)	TV	RADIO	NEWSPAPER	FAMILY	FRIENDS
RED CARPET (129)	5.4	29.4	12.4	10.0	42.6
GREEN (448)	8.0	23.6	13.3	12.9	41.7
GREAT PLAINS (67)	7.4	23.8	8.9	5.9	53.7
FRONTIER (314)	9.2	28.3	11.4	16.5	33.4
LAKE (17)	5.8	17.6	17.6	5.8	52.9
KIAMICHI (14)	0.0	28.5	14.2	14.2	42.8

## MOST RELY ON

	TV	RADIO	NEWSPAPER	FAMILY	FRIENDS
RED CARPET (129)	61.2	3.1	20.9	6.9	2.3
GREEN (448)	67.6	3.3	18.5	5.3	1.7
GREAT PLAINS (67)	53.7	7.4	20.8	13.4	1.4
FRONTIER (314)	60.5	0.9	22.6	8.2	2.2
LAKE (17)	52.9	0.0	23.5	17.6	0.0
KIAMICHI (14)	50.0	14.2	0.0	28.5	7.1

### Issue-Based Variables

The first issue-based question, question 12, asked the respondents to state their opinion as to the appearance of campaign advertisements that appear on fence posts and billboards. Their choices were 'add to,' 'detract from,' and 'makes no difference.' In all six regions the majority of respondents claimed that it makes no difference in the overall political campaign (Table 7). The largest percentage of respondents which felt that it made no difference in the campaign was Great Plains Country at 53.7% (Figure 6). The largest percentage which perceived the billboards as having added to the campaign was found in Red Carpet Country at 38.7%. Assuming that all of the respondents were willing to admit to their influence or even to recognize it, the respondents favoring billboards as campaign ads was mostly a northern and western phenomenon.

Question 13, which asked the respondents to categorize Oklahoma's overall political orientation, presented some very surprising results. This may result from the respondent's higher level of education. In every case, a majority of the respondents claimed Oklahoma was more Democratic in overall political orientation (Table 8). The most intense areas of this belief, as was expected, were Lake (64.7%), Great Plains (76.1%), and Kiamichi (92.8%) (Figure 7). Originally, it had been expected that the respondents from the two major Republican countries, i.e. Red Carpet and Green, would claim a overall Republican



TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR OPINION  
REGARDING BILLBOARD CAMPAIGN ADS BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	ADDS TO	DETRACTS FROM	MAKES NO DIFF
RED CARPET (129)	38.7	17.8	43.4
GREEN (448)	36.6	19.1	44.1
GREAT PLAINS (67)	35.8	10.4	53.7
FRONTIER (314)	32.1	23.5	44.2
LAKE (17)	35.2	17.6	47.0
KIAMICHI (14)	28.5	21.4	50.0
% of TOTAL	34.4	18.3	47.3

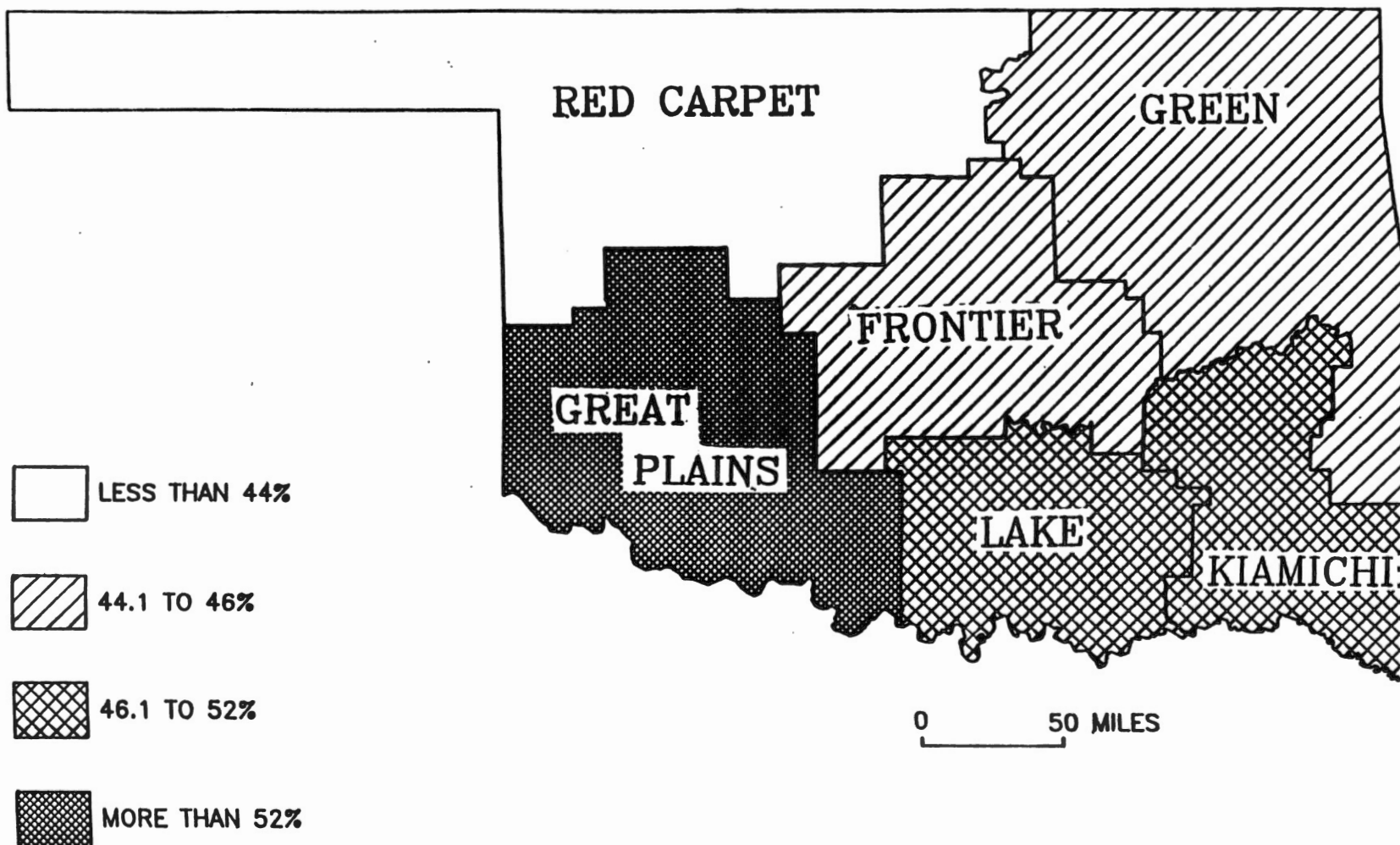


Figure 6. Percentage of Respondents Claiming Billboard Ads Make No Difference in the Political Campaign

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR OPINION AS  
TO THE OVERALL POLITICAL ORIENTATION  
OF OKLAHOMA BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	MORE REPUBLICAN	MORE DEMOCRATIC
RED CARPET (129)	44.1	53.4
GREEN (448)	47.5	50.2
GREAT PLAINS (67)	22.3	76.1
FRONTIER (314)	45.2	51.9
LAKE (17)	35.2	64.7
KIAMICHI (14)	7.1	92.8
% OF TOTAL	33.5	64.8

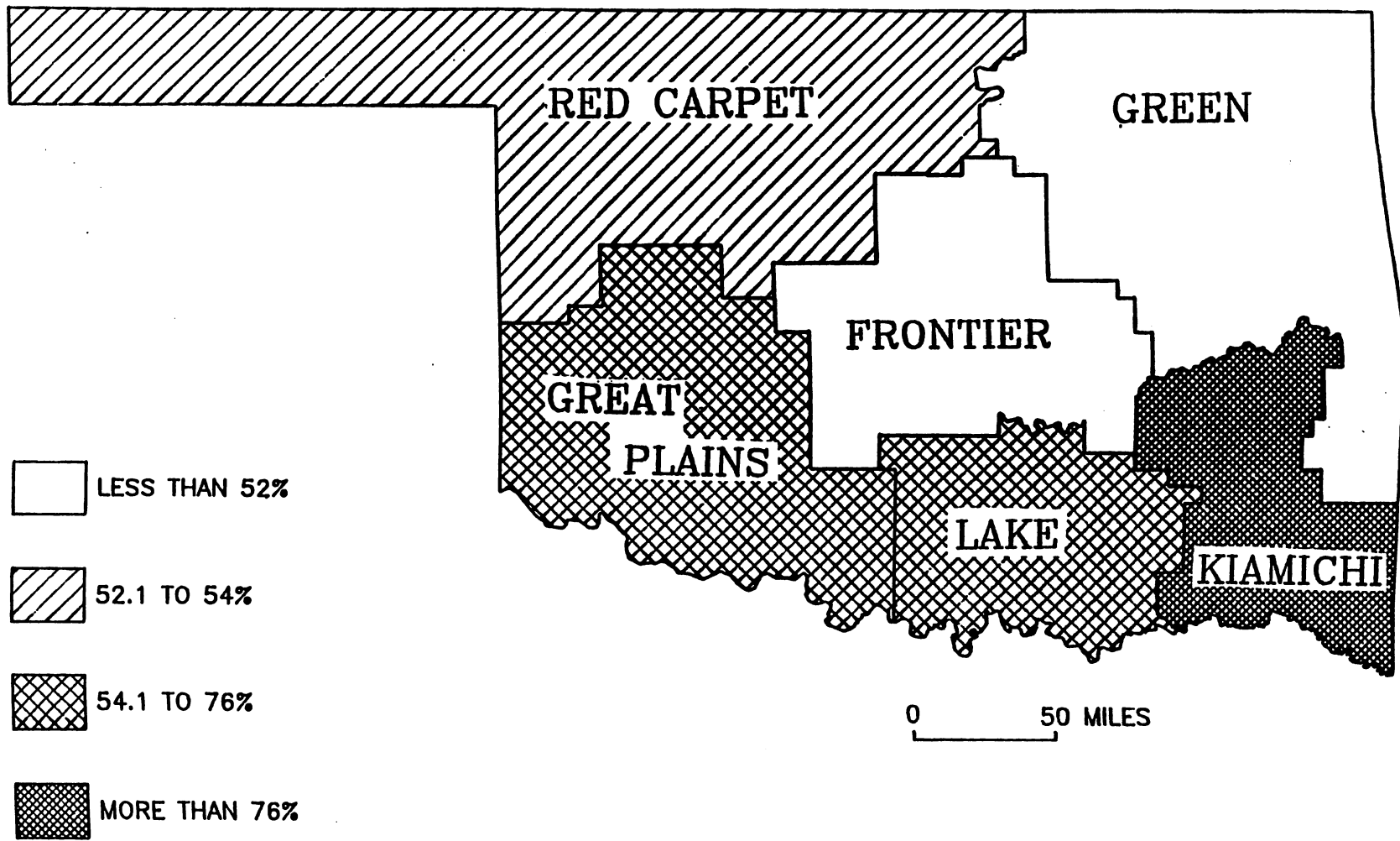


Figure 7. Percentage of Respondents Claiming Oklahoma is More Democrat in Political Orientation

orientation for the state. The largest concentration of respondents which did favor Oklahoma as a Republican stronghold was Green Country with 47.5%.

Enquiring as to the respondent's attitude toward Governor Henry Bellmon's representation of the entire state of Oklahoma, question 14 received mixed results (Table 9). The greatest percentage of respondents which favored his performance was found in Great Plains Country, but this was only at 26.8%. Kiamichi Country, in the very southeast corner, reported an amazing 0.0% on this point. This was expected due to the historically Democratic orientation of that region's population. The strongest percentage of disfavor for Bellmon's performance was in Kiamichi Country at 64.2% (Figure 8). As a single question, question 14 also revealed the apparent apolitical outlook of the study group. A full 48.6% of Green Country's respondents claimed 'no opinion' on this question. The other countries came in at around a 35% 'no opinion' rate.

Question 15 sought the respondent's perception as to the areas of the state which they felt had not been adequately represented. It was originally expected that the respondents would be chiefly concerned with their own home region and, as such, would exhibit little concern for the other regions of the state. However, there were several instances in which this was not supported (Table 10). Once again, this question also revealed the overall apolitical orientation of the study group. Percentages of respondents

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR OPINION AS TO  
GOVERNOR HENRY BELLMON'S REPRESENTATION OF  
OKLAHOMA BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	YES	NO	NO OPINION
RED CARPET (129)	23.2	39.5	36.4
GREEN (448)	19.4	31.4	48.6
GREAT PLAINS (67)	26.8	37.3	35.8
FRONTIER (314)	15.2	48.4	36.3
LAKE (17)	17.6	47.0	35.2
KIAMICHI (14)	0.0	64.2	35.7
% OF TOTAL	17.0	44.6	38.4

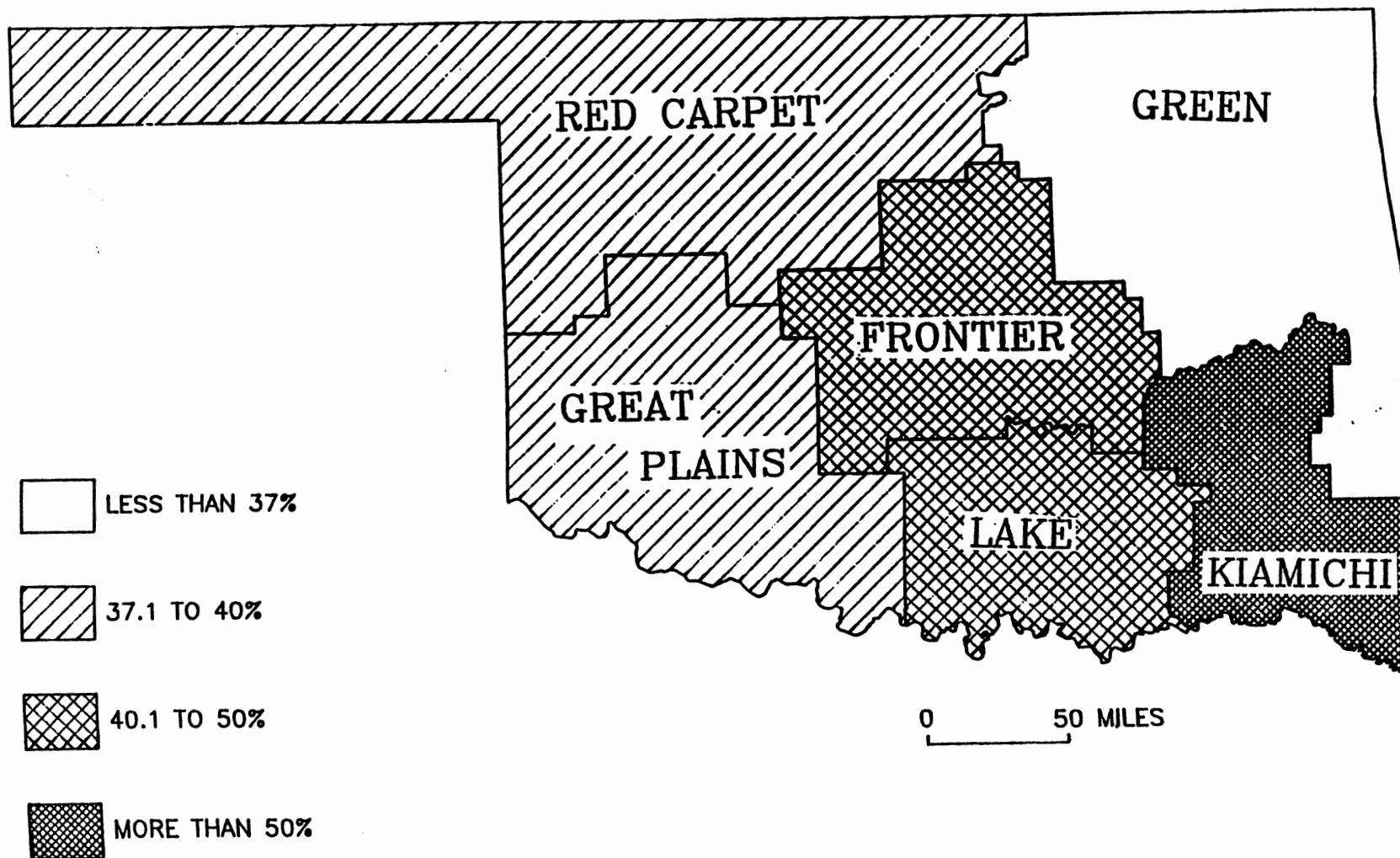


Figure 8. Percentage of Respondents Who Feel Governor Bellmon has not Adequately Represented Oklahoma

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES CLAIMING GOVERNMENTAL MIS-  
REPRESENTATION OF AREAS IN OKLAHOMA BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	RED CARPET (129)	GREEN (448)	GREAT PLAINS (67)	FRONTIER (314)	LAKE (17)	KIAMICHI (14)
CENTRAL						
YES	9.3	7.5	7.4	25.4	29.4	14.2
NO	27.9	23.4	29.8	20.3	17.6	50.0
NO ANSWER	62.7	68.9	62.6	54.1	52.9	35.7
PANHANDLE						
YES	21.7	11.3	14.9	22.9	17.6	0.0
NO	15.5	19.6	22.3	22.6	29.4	64.2
NO ANSWER	62.7	68.9	62.6	54.4	52.9	35.7
NORTH - EASTERN						
YES	10.0	20.7	2.9	14.9	17.6	0.0
NO	27.1	10.2	34.3	30.5	29.4	64.2
NO ANSWER	62.7	68.9	62.6	54.4	52.9	35.7
SOUTH - WESTERN						
YES	10.8	5.3	29.8	15.9	29.4	7.1
NO	26.3	25.6	7.4	29.6	17.6	57.1
NO ANSWER	62.7	68.9	62.6	54.4	52.9	35.7
SOUTH - EASTERN						
YES	10.8	7.3	5.9	18.4	29.4	64.2
NO	26.3	23.6	31.3	27.0	17.6	0.0
NO ANSWER	62.7	68.9	62.6	54.4	52.9	35.7
NORTH - WESTERN						
YES	23.2	6.6	8.9	14.9	17.6	0.0
NO	13.9	24.5	28.3	30.5	29.4	64.2
NO ANSWER	62.7	68.7	62.6	54.4	52.9	35.7

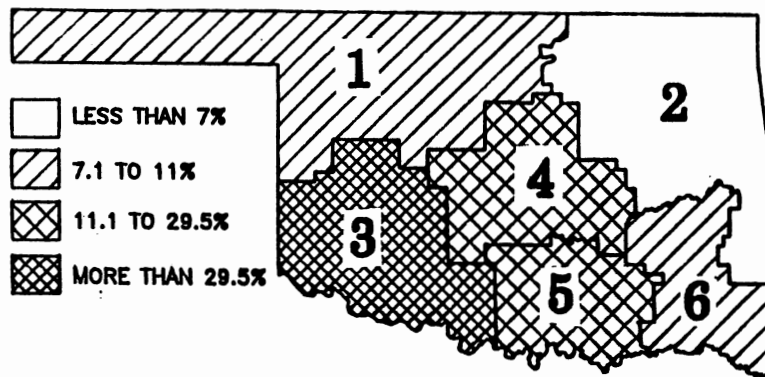


which did not answer this question range from 68.9% for Green Country to 35.7% for Kiamichi Country.

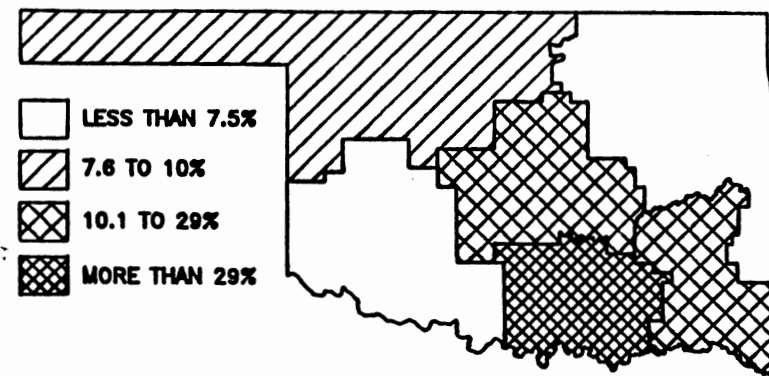
The respondents were given six possible regions which roughly correlate to the six countries of the regional scheme. The southwest, which correlates with Great Plains Country, claimed a 29.8% disapproval rate from the respondents from that region (Figure 9). Ironically, Lake Country's respondents reported a 29.4% disapproval rate as to the southwestern Oklahoma's representation. As was the case with central Oklahoma, there may have been confusion on the part of the respondents as to the cardinal location of their home region. The lowest percentage of disapproval was reported in Green Country at only 5.3%.

Concerning central Oklahoma the largest concentration of respondents which voiced disapproval were not the respondents from central Oklahoma (or Frontier country) at 25.4%, but were the respondents from Lake Country at 29.4% (Figure 9). This may be due to a possible confusion as to the cardinal location of these respondent's home locale. The other countries' percentages of disapproval range from 7.4% in Great Plains Country to 14.2% Kiamichi Country.

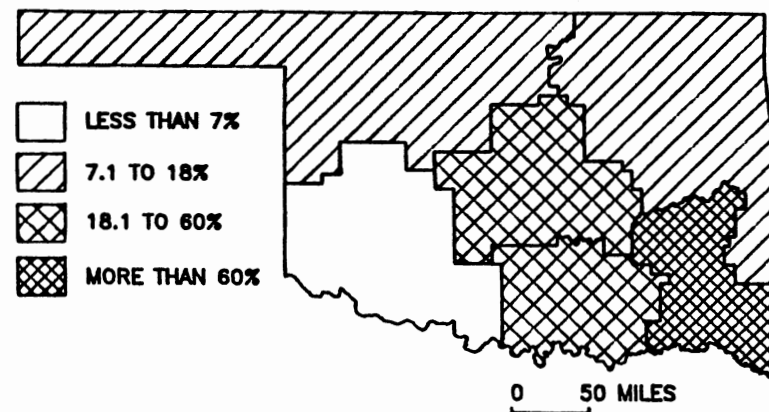
Having been split in the regional scheme between Lake and Kiamichi Countries, the responses toward misrepresentation in the southeast reflects a concentration of disapproval in those two countries which divide the directionally defined area (Figure 9). The percentage reported for Lake Country was 29.4%, while the percentage in



## SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA



## CENTRAL OKLAHOMA



## SOUTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA

Figure 9. Percentage of Responses Claiming Southwestern, Central, and/or Southeastern Oklahoma have not been Adequately Represented

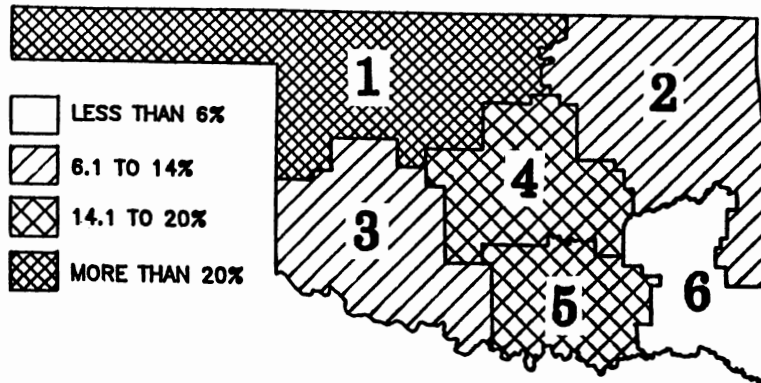
Kiamichi Country was an an overwhelming 64.2%. The 64.2% disapproval rate in Kiamichi Country was the strongest show of disapproval by a home area toward the representation of that area in all six of the directional areas.

The northwest received a 23.2% disapproval rate from the respondents from Red Carpet Country (Figure 10). The next highest percentage was found in Lake Country at 17.6%. The lowest category was from Kiamichi Country at 0.0% percentage rate of disapproval. Once again, the original assumption that respondents would favor their home area for disapproval over the areas of the other respondents is supported.

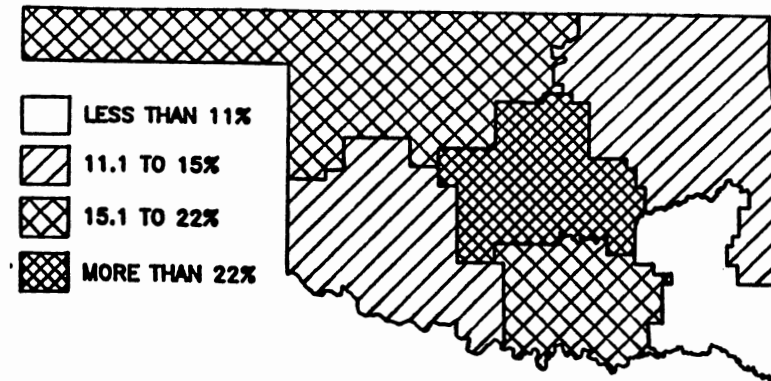
Of the Panhandle, which is wholly within Red Carpet Country, the greatest concentration of disapproval for that area's representation was in Frontier Country at 22.9% (Figure 10). The respondents from Red Carpet Country claimed a 21.7% rate of disapproval for the representation of their home area. The next greatest percentage was that of Lake Country at 17.6%.

The northeast, or Green Country, claimed a 20.7% disapproval rate for their own home country (Figure 10). The next greatest category was Lake Country at 17.6%. As was originally supposed, Great Plains Country, at the opposite corner of the state, reported a 2.9% rate of inadequate representation.

There are three major findings that were highlighted by this question. The first was that there is a direct

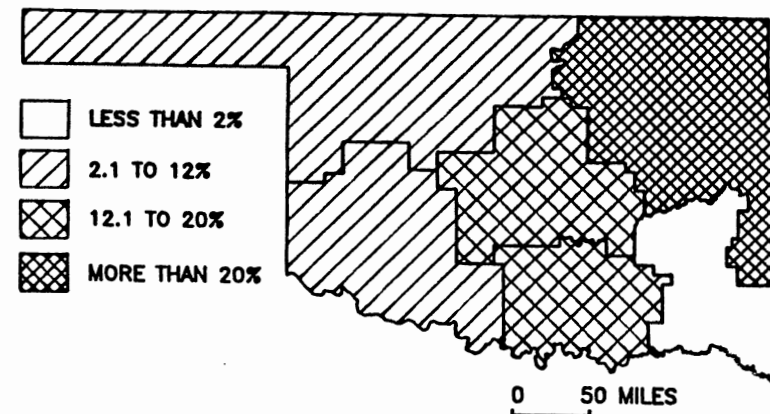


## NORTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA



## THE PANHANDLE

- 1 = RED CARPET COUNTRY
- 2 = GREEN COUNTRY
- 3 = GREAT PLAINS COUNTRY
- 4 = FRONTIER COUNTRY
- 5 = LAKE COUNTRY
- 6 = KIAMICHI COUNTRY



## NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA

Figure 10. Percentage of Responses Claiming Northwestern and Northeastern Oklahoma and/or the Panhandle have not been Adequately Represented

correlation between where a respondent is from and that respondent's amount of disapproval for the adequate representation of their home area. The second finding was revealed in the general apolitical nature of the study group regardless of home area, rural or urban. The third, and final, finding was the either hostile attitudes of the respondents from Lake Country, i.e., they consistently claimed a high rate of disapproval on all areas of the state, or their general misunderstanding as to the location of their home area.

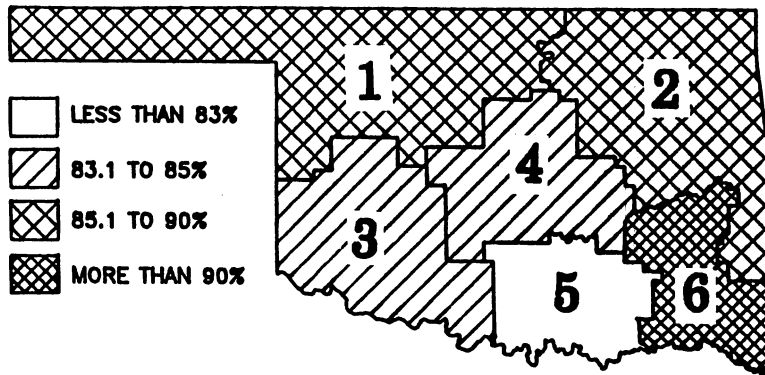
Question 16 sought the respondents opinion on issues in most need of attention in Oklahoma. Originally, it was assumed that the spatial differences to be observed here would be realized in urban or rural areas. The relationship expected was one of an urban core(s) opposite a rural periphery. The results of this question have been presented in Table 11.

The first issue proposed was that of education. Overwhelmingly, the respondents of all areas reported a need for more attention on this issue (Figure 11). The percentages of favor on this issue range from 76.4% in Lake country to 92.8% in Kiamichi Country. There is no apparent difference between the more urbanized areas as opposed to the rural ones on this issue.

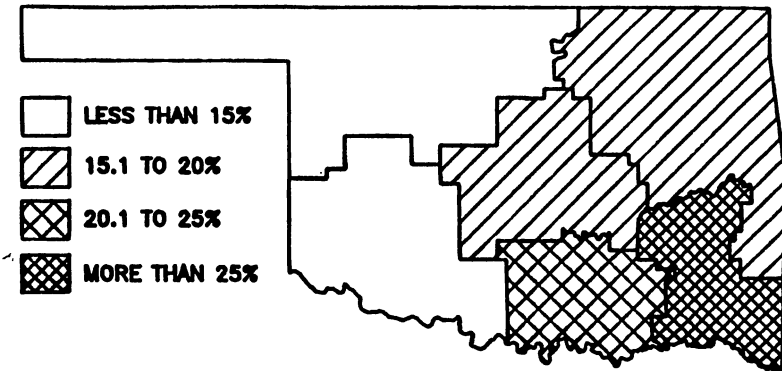
The next issue to be presented to the respondents was that of social welfare. Originally, it was unclear as to how they might react to this issue and the weak show of

TABLE 11  
 PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES CLAIMING THESE  
 ISSUES ARE IN MOST NEED OF ATTENTION  
 IN OKLAHOMA BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	RED CARPET (129)	GREEN (448)	GREAT PLAINS (67)	FRONTIER (314)	LAKE (17)	KIAMICHI (14)
EDUCATION						
YES	86.0	86.1	83.5	84.7	76.4	92.8
BRIDGES						
YES	5.4	6.9	1.4	7.9	5.8	7.1
TAX REFORM						
YES	28.6	23.4	31.3	32.4	41.1	28.5
POL REFORM						
YES	13.9	15.8	10.4	21.3	23.5	0.0
ROADS						
YES	30.2	39.7	34.3	32.8	29.4	28.5
JOBS						
YES	48.8	37.9	56.7	47.7	52.9	50.0
ENVIRONMNT						
YES	27.9	36.8	23.8	36.9	29.4	35.7
HLTH CARE						
YES	11.6	17.4	17.9	17.5	29.4	42.8
SOCIAL WLF						
YES	14.7	19.8	14.9	19.4	23.5	28.5

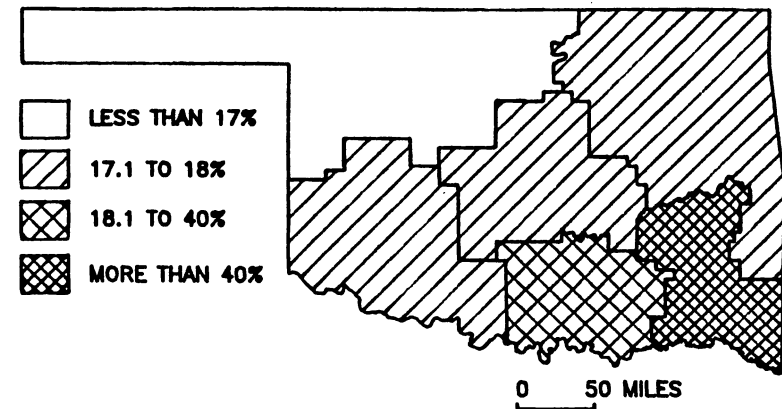


## EDUCATION



## SOCIAL WELFARE

- 1 = RED CARPET COUNTRY
- 2 = GREEN COUNTRY
- 3 = GREAT PLAINS COUNTRY
- 4 = FRONTIER COUNTRY
- 5 = LAKE COUNTRY
- 6 = KIAMICHI COUNTRY



## HEALTH CARE

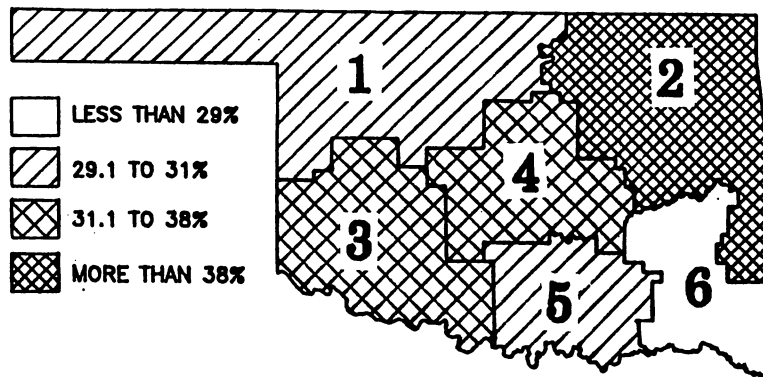
Figure 11. Percentage of Responses Claiming Education, Social Welfare, and/or Health Care are in Most Need of Attention in Oklahoma

interest in it may be a product of this uncertainty. The greatest support for this issue is in the south and south eastern countries of Lake, at 23.5%, and Kiamichi, at 28.5% (Figure 11). On this issue, there is a clear split between the eastern and western countries. The western countries of Great Plains, at 14.9%, and Red Carpet, at 14.7%, are both the lowest regions of support of the six in the study. This point irrespective of major political party affiliation. The two most urbanized countries both scored at around 19% of the study group supporting attention toward social welfare.

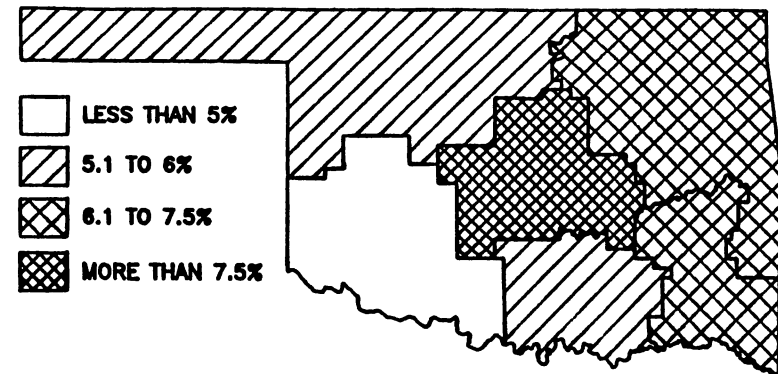
Health care, as an issue in this study, is of more importance in the southern countries (Figure 11). The highest percentage was reported in Kiamichi Country at 42.8% with Lake Country, at 29.4%, next in percentage in favor of this issue. The two urban countries, Green and Frontier, both scored in the 17.5 percentile. The lowest percentage of support on this issue is in the Republican stronghold of Red Carpet Country at a mere 11.6% of the respondents.

The issue of roads displayed a pattern which favored the more urbanized regions of the state. Frontier, at 32.8%, and Green, at 39.7%, displayed two of the highest percentage rates on this issue (Figure 12). Originally, it was believed that a need for more and better roads would be a more rural issue, but this was not supported. The lowest percentage of support for roads was in Kiamichi Country at 28.5%.



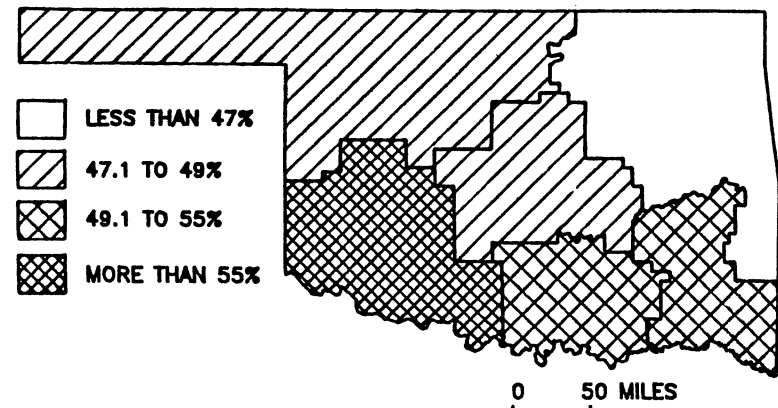


## ROADS



## BRIDGES

- 1 = RED CARPET COUNTRY
- 2 = GREEN COUNTRY
- 3 = GREAT PLAINS COUNTRY
- 4 = FRONTIER COUNTRY
- 5 = LAKE COUNTRY
- 6 = KIAMICHI COUNTRY



## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

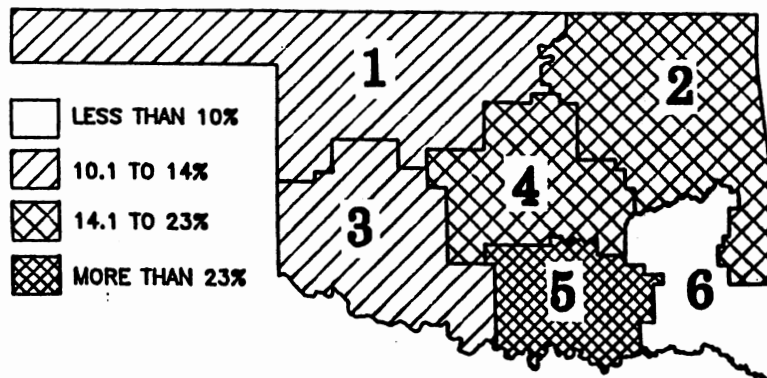
Figure 12. Percentage of Responses Claiming Roads, Bridges, and/or Industrial Development are in Most Need of Attention in Oklahoma

The next issue asked the respondents about their feelings toward the need for more and better bridges. Overall, the respondents were relatively uninterested in this issue. However, of those who did respond, the highest percentages of support were to be found in the eastern half of the state (Figure 12). In no region did the level of support exceed 7.9% (Frontier Country) of the respondents. The lowest percentage of support was in Great Plains Country at only 1.4%.

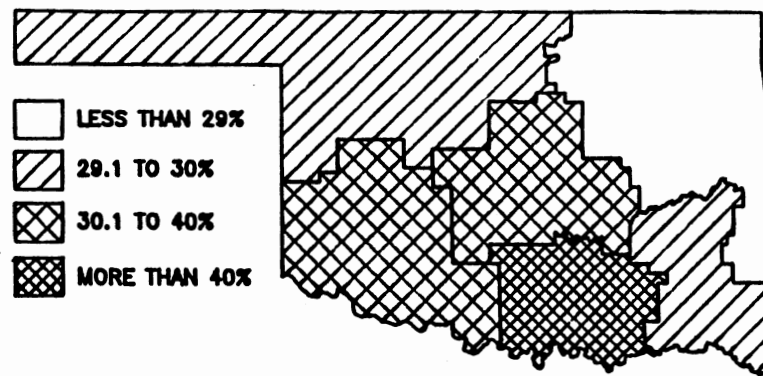
While an overall popular issue among the study group, industrial development or jobs, only obtained a majority in three of the six countries. All three are located in the southern half of the state. Kiamichi, at 50.0%, Lake, at 52.9%, and Great Plains, at 56.7%, are all rural in make-up (Figure 12). The two urbanized countries, Green and Frontier, reported 37.9% and 47.7%, respectively. Red Carpet Country, the fourth of the more rural countries, claimed 48.8% of the respondents felt industrial development was in need of attention in their home area.

On the issue of political reform, Frontier Country, at 21.3%, and Lake Country, at 23.5%, expressed the most support (Figure 13). Kiamichi Country, in the far southeast, reported a 0.0% need for political reform. The next lowest percentage of support was from Great Plains Country at 10.4%.

Based on the results on the above issue, it is quite probable that the interpretation of this issue's meaning was

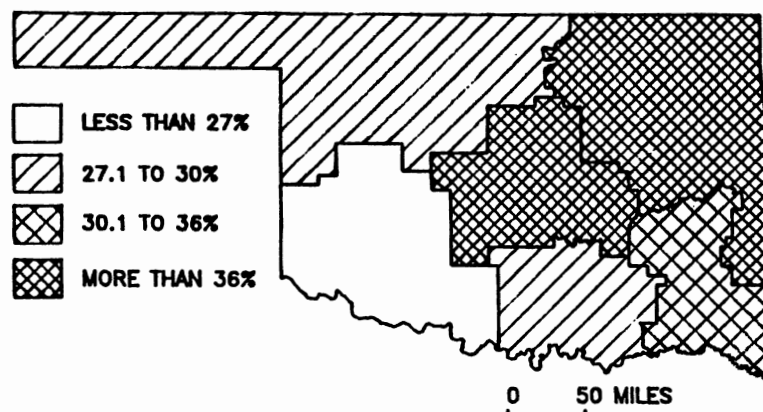


## POLITICAL REFORM



## TAX REFORM

- 1 = RED CARPET COUNTRY
- 2 = GREEN COUNTRY
- 3 = GREAT PLAINS COUNTRY
- 4 = FRONTIER COUNTRY
- 5 = LAKE COUNTRY
- 6 = KIAMICHI COUNTRY



## THE ENVIRONMENT

Figure 13. Percentage of Responses Claiming Political Reform, Tax Reform, and/or the Environment are in Most Need of Attention in Oklahoma

different dependent on where the respondent was from. Respondents from the southern countries might interpret this issue as upsetting the status quo while northerners might view it as ridding government of corruption. In any case, both interpretations are functions of political culture in that they reveal differing ways of viewing politics.

On tax reform, major hints of regional cleavages begin to appear. The countries which are traditional strongholds of the Democratic party, i.e., Kiamichi, Lake, Frontier, and Great Plains, reported tax reform as more important issue than did Red Carpet or Green Countries, thus pointing to a north-south division in the state (Figure 13). The highest percentages of support on this issue were found in Kiamichi, at 28.5%; Great Plains, at 31.3%; Frontier, at 32.4%; and Lake Country, at 41.1%. In none of the countries did the percentage produce a majority of support.

In response to the trend toward a more ecological conscious population, the environment was included as one of the possible issues. The most urbanized countries scored highest on this issue (Figure 13). Presumably, this reflects the respondent's perception as to the ill affects of large-scale urbanization and industrialization by respondents from the state's two main urban areas. Surprisingly, both Green and Frontier (at 36.8% and 36.9%, respectively) claimed a similar amount of support, thus reflecting a similar perception of their urban environment. The other more rural countries ranged in percentage from

23.8% in Great Plains Country to 35.7% in Kiamichi Country.

Question 16 reveals several interesting aspects of the study population. The first is that of the nine issues the study population were offered, several appear to be a strict function of political party affiliation, these would include: tax reform, political reform, and health care. Others, such as bridges, roads, industrial development, and the environment, appear to be a function of either the urban vs. rural dichotomy or as a function of economics in the home country. The issue of social welfare, displaying an east vs. west dichotomy, may very well be a function of political culture rather than political party affiliation. On the other hand, the issue of education transcends all of the above categories and is overwhelmingly supported by the study group.

After soliciting the respondent's attitudes on issues and the various areas of the state, the study group was next asked about their feelings as to whether or not the state government, in Oklahoma City, adequately addressed the needs of their hometown (Table 12). As was expected, Frontier Country, at 62.7% of the group, is the most avid and favorable concerning the attention their country receives (Figure 14). The lowest percentile reported is in Kiamichi Country at 35.7% of the respondents in favor. Great Plains Country, at 58.2%, and Lake Country, at 58.8%, also claimed majorities in favor of this viewpoint.

Question 18, as a follow up to the previous question,

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR OPINION AS TO  
THE REPRESENTATION OF THEIR HOME LOCALE BY  
THE STATE GOVERNMENT BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	YES	NO	NO ANSWER
RED CARPET (129)	40.3	57.3	2.3
GREEN (448)	49.5	46.2	4.2
GREAT PLAINS (67)	58.2	40.2	1.4
FRONTIER (314)	62.7	34.3	2.8
LAKE (17)	58.8	35.2	5.8
KIAMICHI (14)	35.7	64.2	0.0
% OF TOTAL	50.8	46.5	2.7

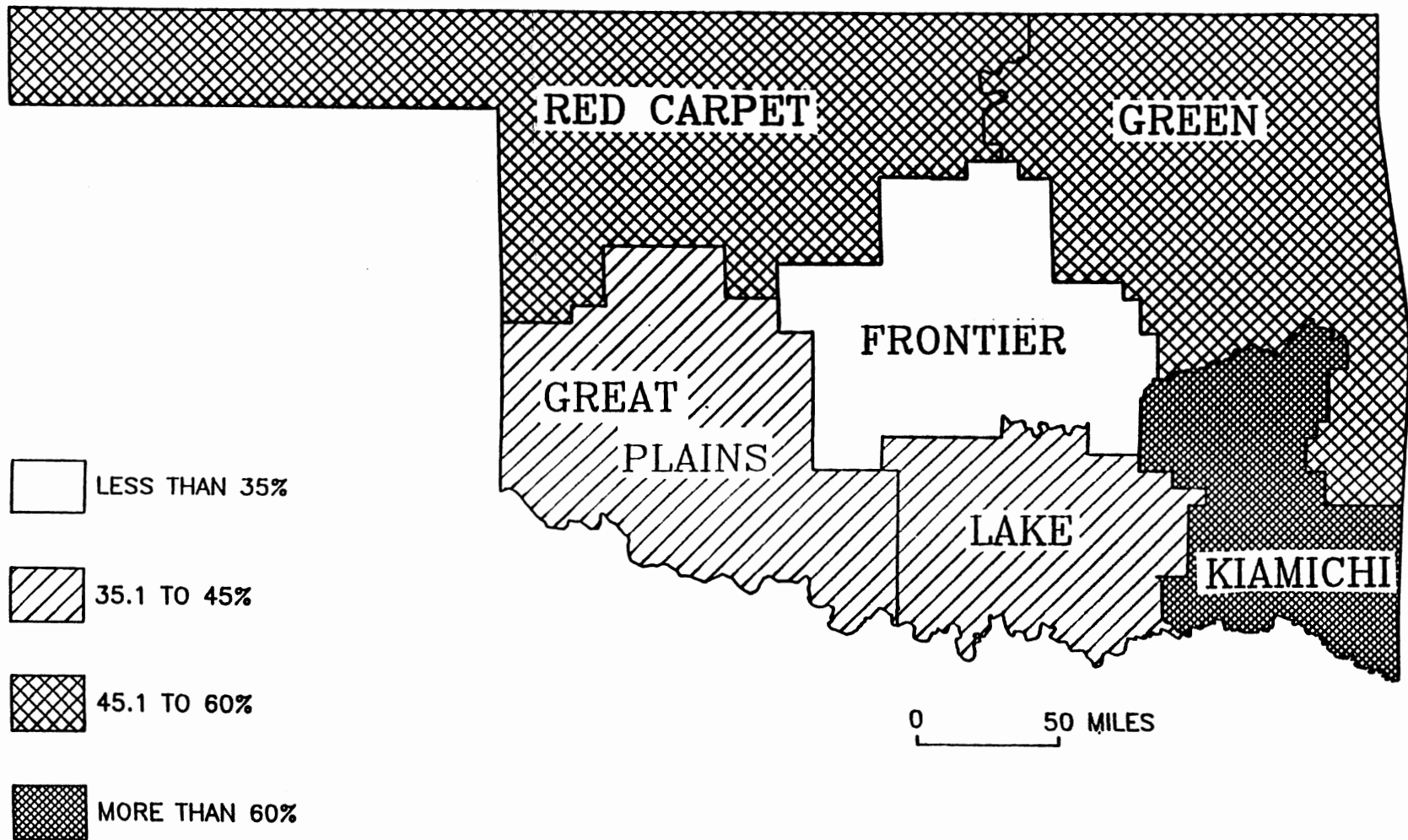


Figure 14. Percentage of Respondents Who Feel the State Government has not Adequately Represented Their Hometown

asked the respondents as to the role distance plays in the allocation of resources to their home locale. As expected, the responses received on this question followed the core-periphery relationship as outlined earlier in this study. A mere 10.8% of the respondents from Frontier Country, i.e., the country centered around the capital, claimed distance was a hindering factor in the allocation of resources (Table 13). On the other hand, percentages ranging from 29.4% in Lake Country to 71.4% in Kiamichi Country were reported for the peripheral countries for the same response (Figure 15).

The two final questions address the beliefs the respondents may or may not hold about the state as a political entity. Question 19 asked the respondents to categorize Oklahoma within a major geographic and cultural region of the nation (Table 14). They were given the choices of 'Northcentral,' 'Southwest,' and 'Southeast.' The hypothesis related to this question stated that the respondents would most identify with that major region which was closest to their home local. The hypothesis is supported in this study. The northcentral region is most supported by the respondents of Red Carpet Country, at 51.1%, and Green Country, at 53.1% (Figure 16). The country with the least amount of support for Oklahoma's identification within the Northcentral region is Great Plains Country at 31.3%. The other two southern countries scored in the low to middle thirtieth percentile.



TABLE 13  
 PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS CLAIMING DISTANCE  
 IS A FACTOR IN THE ALLOCATION OF  
 RESOURCES BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	HELPS	HINDERS	NEITHER	NO ANSWER
RED CARPET (129)	3.8	36.4	57.3	2.3
GREEN (448)	5.5	30.5	61.3	2.4
GREAT PLAINS (67)	5.9	29.8	64.1	0.0
FRONTIER (314)	30.5	10.8	57.6	0.9
LAKE (17)	17.6	29.4	0.0	52.9
KIAMICHI (14)	0.0	71.4	28.5	0.0
% OF TOTAL	10.8	34.7	44.8	9.7

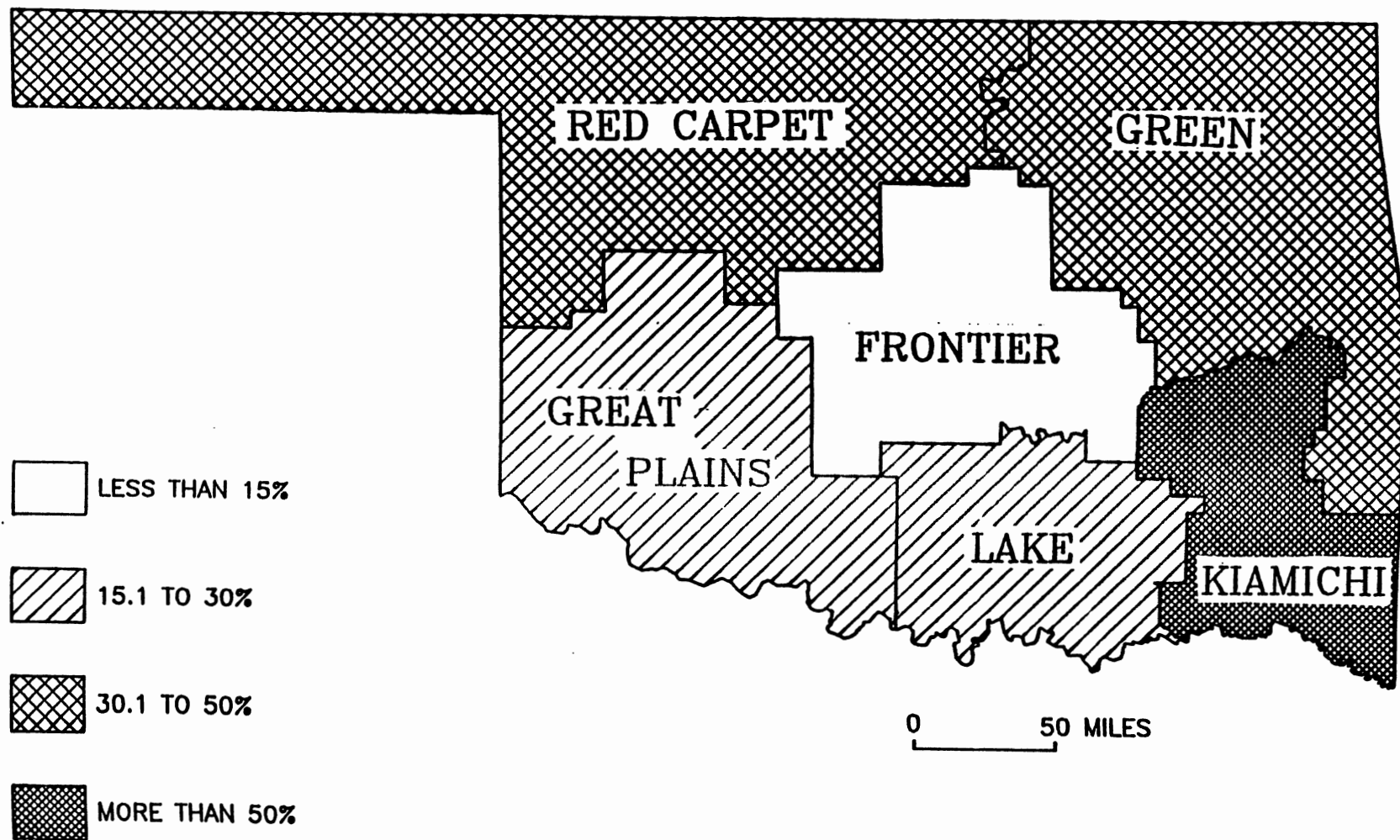


Figure 15. Percentage of Respondents Who Feel Distance Hinders the Allocation of Resources to Their Hometown

TABLE 14  
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS FAVORING A  
POLITICAL REGION BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	NORTHCENTRAL	SOUTHWEST	SOUTHEAST
RED CARPET (129)	51.1	39.5	6.9
GREEN (448)	53.1	33.0	10.7
GREAT PLAINS (67)	31.3	56.7	8.9
FRONTIER (314)	36.6	50.9	7.9
LAKE (17)	41.1	41.1	17.6
KIAMICHI (14)	35.7	28.5	35.7
% OF TOTAL	41.4	41.6	14.6

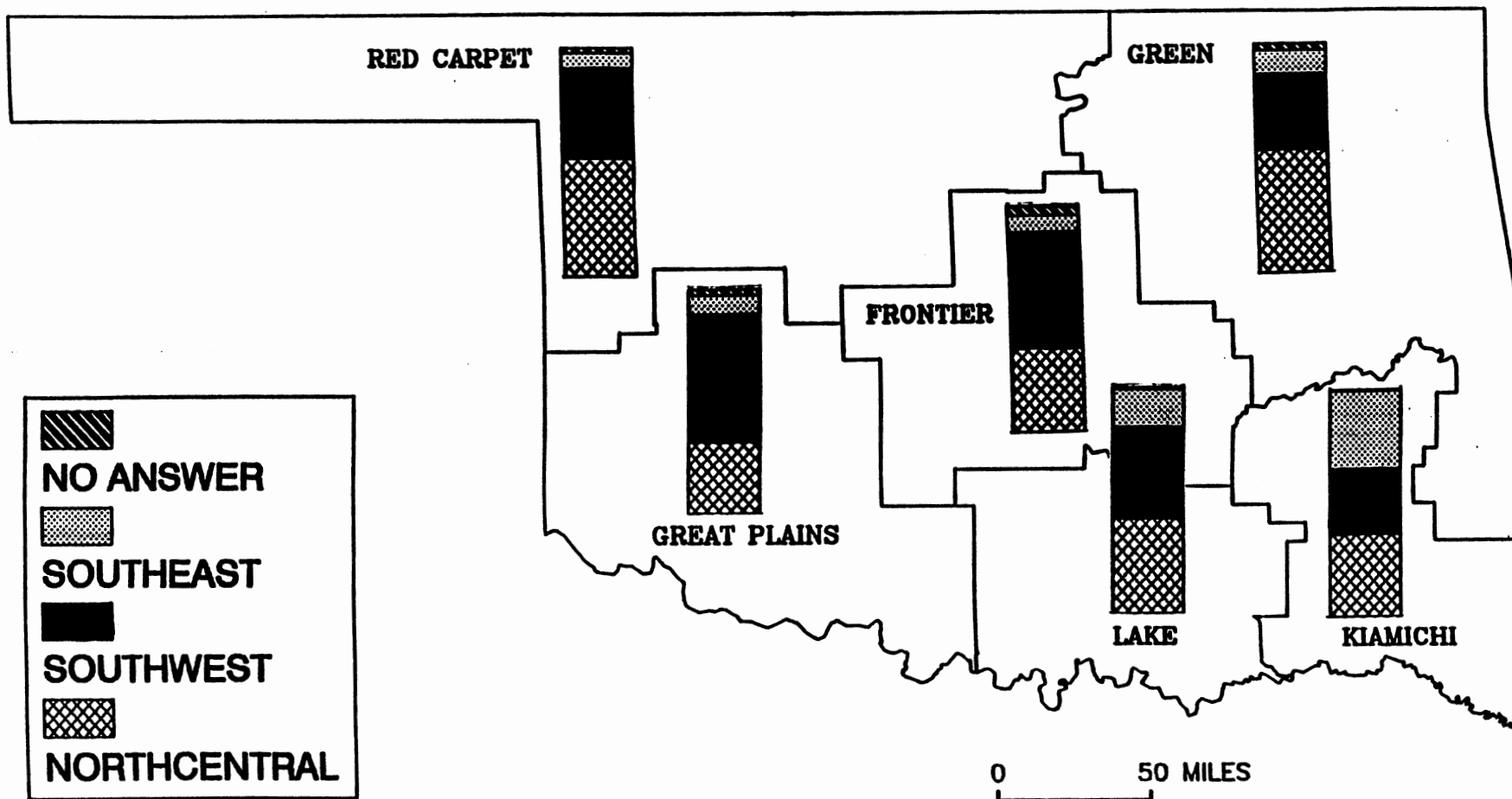


Figure 16. Percentage of Respondents Who Feel Oklahoma Most Belongs in the Southwest, Northcentral, or Southeast Political Region

The second regional category, Southwest, is most favored by Lake, at 41.1%; Frontier, at 50.9%; and Great Plains Countries, at 56.7% (Figure 16). The smallest percentage of support for this region is Kiamichi Country at 28.5% of the respondents. Only 33% of the respondents from Green country categorized Oklahoma within the Southwest.

The third and final region offered to the respondents is that of the Southeast. As was expected, the largest concentration of support for this categorization is in Lake Country, at 17.6%, and Kiamichi Country, at 35.7% (Figure 16). Of additional interest, Green Country claimed the next highest percentage at 10.7. The three western most countries all scored less than a 10% rate of support.

Question 20, which measures the respondents belief as to the coherence of Oklahoma as a single political entity, was originally expected to only claim a sizeable support base in Frontier or central Oklahoma. While this was not supported by the results, the size of the percentages are low at best (Table 15). Of the respondents which feel that Oklahoma does not constitute a single political entity, the largest percentages are in the southeastern countries of Kiamichi, at 35.7%, and Lake, at 47.0% (Figure 17). Significant percentages were also reported by the north countries of Red Carpet, at 30.2, and Green, at 31.9%. Frontier Country claims mixed results. Twenty-one percent (21.3%) of the respondents from Frontier Country feel Oklahoma does constitute a single political entity. While

TABLE 15  
 PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS FAVORING OKLAHOMA  
 AS A SINGLE POLITICAL ENTITY BY COUNTRY

COUNTRY (# of resp)	YES	NO	NO OPINION
RED CARPET (129)	31.0	30.2	37.9
GREEN (448)	19.4	31.9	46.8
GREAT PLAINS (67)	34.3	22.3	43.2
FRONTIER (314)	21.3	29.9	47.7
LAKE (17)	11.7	47.0	41.1
KIAMICHI (14)	21.4	35.7	42.8
% OF TOTAL	23.1	32.8	43.2

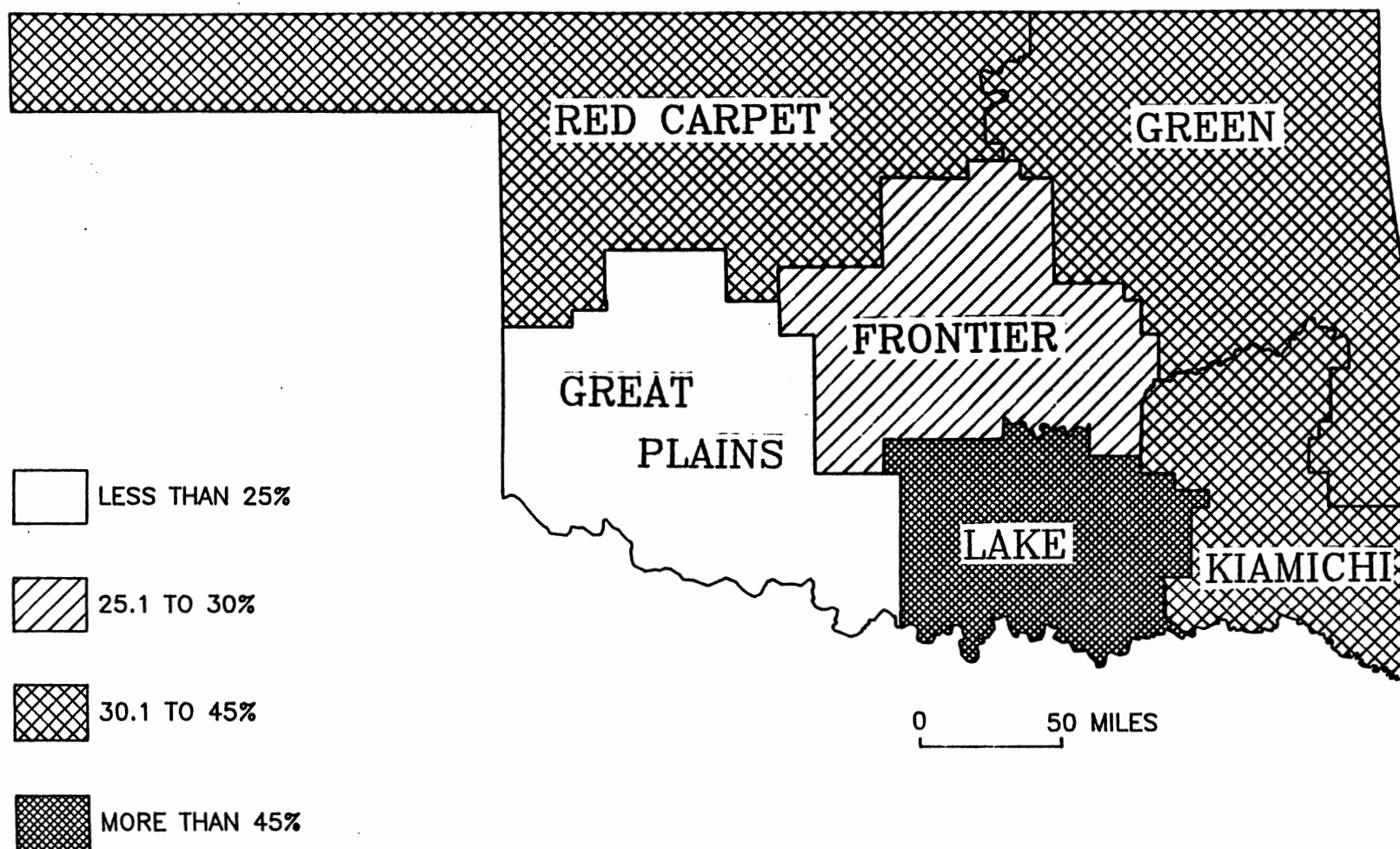


Figure 17. Percentage of Respondents Who Feel Oklahoma does not  
Constitute a Single Political Entity

29.9% of Frontier Country's respondents do not support this view.

The two final questions of the questionnaire present a confusing scenario, though, the first shows that there is ample evidence to believe that the respondents are divided on to which major culture region Oklahoma most belongs. The second does not provide a core area from which to base Oklahoma's identity independently. Furthermore, all of the countries express dissatisfaction with the state's present composition.



## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

The goal of this study was to measure selected political attitudes and beliefs of college students at Oklahoma State University; to determine regional attitude variation; and to map spatial variation in Oklahoma politics. Data was solicited, organized, and analyzed in a regional scheme which outlined spatial variation in the state's political culture. Analysis and presentation of the data relied on cartographic analysis, correlation analysis, and direct comparisons of percentages.

#### Conclusions

The results of this study have revealed much about the political attitudes of Oklahoma State University's students. For instance, a majority of this population relies on the television for their political information and relies least on their families. In general, the population claims their home area has not been represented adequately and has a rather strong dislike for Governor Henry Bellmon's performance as chief executive of the state. Governor Bellmon's "belt-tightening" economic and educational reforms

early in his term are assumed to be at the center of this disapproval or dislike.

In the study population, the political preference loyalties continue to follow a pattern established in the formative years of the state, that is, Republicans still dominate the north and Democrats continue to control the south. A possible area of change is observed in the center of the state, in and around the capital, where a Republican majority is observed. A possible influence on the change in party preference in central Oklahoma is the enormous political clout held by The Daily Oklahoman, the state's leading newspaper. E.K. Gaylord, the owner of the paper, has made no secret of his Republican party preference and reflects his political leaning in his paper. The central home location of the paper in Oklahoma City may represent the node or core of the diffusion of a particular political inclination throughout the state. However, this is in no way conclusive. This may also be influenced by the nature of the sample. Residents of Oklahoma City, who chose to attend Oklahoma State University, may be more conservative than those who attend the University of Oklahoma, which captures the majority of Oklahoma City's residents.

The issue of billboard campaign ads reveals a rural population that is roughly as favorable to their presence as a campaign tool as are the more urbanized areas of the state. However, the majority of all of the respondents feel billboards make no difference in the overall campaign.

Perhaps, respondents were unaware of billboard influence or unwilling to admit it. Future political candidates should consider this.

The major hypothesis of this study was that the geographical variation in student political attitudes reflects patterns of political regionalism in Oklahoma. The results of this study support this hypothesis. Spatial variation is apparent in the data set, particularly, when the data are aggregated to the Oklahoma Department of Tourism's "countries."

Maps of Oklahoma's culture regions as drawn by Gastil (1975) and Doran (1974) are supported by several of the issue-based questions in the survey. These issues include tax reform, political reform, health care, and social welfare. All, save political reform, were more favored in the south than in the north. The reverse was shown with political reform. Because these issues have traditionally been Democratic party issues, it is no surprise that they are more popular in the southern part of the state. However, the issue of political reform, more popular in the northern half of the state, may be a response directed toward the increasing popularity of the Republican party in the state. Southern Oklahoma's Democrats may not support reforming the state's political arena which they have historically dominated.

Urban-rural dichotomies are observed on the issues of roads, industrial development, and the environment. The

issue of roads and the environment are more supported by the urban areas, whereas, industrial development is much more important in the rural periphery.

As a group, an overwhelming majority of the respondents feel education is in most need of attention in the state. It is presumed that this finding reflects the study population's awareness as to the plight of education in Oklahoma.

The cultural map by Zelinsky is supported on the issue of social welfare. The western half of the state does not see this as an issue. It is presumed that this is a function of political culture along the pattern as displayed by Elazar (1972) in Figure 1. Unfortunately, only this issue produced this type of response.

The observance of the core-periphery concept on the issue of political efficacy was also apparent in the data. All of the peripheral regions in the study not only disapprove of the state capital's allocation of resources to their hometown, but also consider the distance between the two as a major factor in the allocation.

On the issue as to which political region Oklahoma most belongs, the results show that a respondent's answer is directly related to origin of the respondent. That is, the closer one is to a major political region, the more likely one is to include Oklahoma within that region.

Few in the study population feel Oklahoma is a single political entity. Even in the central part of the state, an

area which has traditionally received the bounty of what the state has to offer, there is no majority support for the present composition of the state. Future political leaders should pay close attention to this if Oklahoma is to foster a political synthesis among the many regional and cultural variations found throughout the state.

#### Recommendations

Recommendations for future research might expand on the methodology utilized in this study. A major limitation of this study was the geographical dispersion of the respondents. A disproportional number of the respondents were from the northern and central areas of the state and only a very small percentage were from the southern half. Future research might insure a better representation by sampling students at Oklahoma's various regional universities, such as Southeastern Oklahoma State in Durant, Northeastern Oklahoma State in Talequah, or Panhandle State at Goodwell, as well as the University of Oklahoma in Norman. This action would allow the researcher to aggregate the data to a much smaller geographical level such as by county or city, thus allowing an original regional scheme to be created from the study results.

Another recommendation would specifically address problems encountered in the questionnaire itself. Several of the questions presented were confusing or failed to adequately solicit a worthwhile response in line with the

goal of study. For example, question 7, asked respondents whether they were liberal, conservative, or moderate, without defining the terms. The question's weakness is even more probable when one considers the general apolitical nature of the study group. The question should have been proposed to the respondents to allow them several choices on one or more issues and then later independently categorizing them based on those choices.

Asking the respondents to identify Oklahoma's political orientation, question 13 utilized the word "overall" in the adjective form. The question was meant to apply to the state-level orientation of the state. However, it is unclear whether or not the respondents interpreted it as such. In future studies, the distinction between state and national levels should be made clear to the study population. In addition, the question 14 made the presumption that the respondents knew the political affiliation of Governor Henry Bellmon. While this was not directly pertinent to the question itself, knowing he was a Republican may have influenced their response.

Another confusing question was number 15. The question asked the respondent to check those areas, based on their location and/or direction, that they perceived as having been represented inadequately. This question assumed that the respondents were familiar with the cardinal directions and that the geographic regions proposed were mutually exclusive. However, these two assumptions were gross

weaknesses on the part of the study. First, geographic familiarity with the cardinal directions, as has been highlighted by the popular media, is lacking in the American student population and, as such, should not have been presumed. Secondly, the "inadequately represented" regions the respondents were asked to identify were ambiguous in relation to the exact boundaries. For example, while the "Panhandle," as a region, is relatively straight forward, "Central Oklahoma" is not. In future studies, this question should be presented to respondents in the form of a map, possibly even the "country" map utilized in this study, thus allowing the respondents to identify the region or regions which they feel have not been represented adequately.

Other questions failed to solicit responses in line with the goal of study because of the actual wording. Question 16, which asked the respondents to check those issues which they felt were in most need of attention in Oklahoma, presented certain issues which might have been interpreted to mean different things to different respondents. For example, political reform, depending on which political culture one subscribes to, can mean either an effort to rid government of corruption or it might be interpreted to represent an upsetting of the status quo. Another issue which possibly experienced the same phenomenon was that of social welfare. This question can be interpreted to mean improving services. Also, this could have been confused with other issues. For instance,

respondents that are sensitive to the issues of taxes or tax reform might equate social reform with that of higher taxes, thus affecting their decision on this issue. Also, a misunderstanding as to the scale of this issue is possible. Is social welfare to be interpreted to mean nationalized health care or child day care or is it just a commitment by the government to social concerns?

Question 19, which asked the respondents to categorize Oklahoma within a listed political regions, should be reexamined. The regional label "Northcentral," should possibly be changed to "Midwestern" and "Southeast," changed to the "South." This action would result in a more accurate regional identification.

The effect of the ordering of the issues and/or choices on many of the questions remains unclear. The pre-testing procedure of the questionnaire revealed no notable differences. However, the probability that there was an effect still exists. Several of the questions, most notably 10, 11, and 16, possibly should have been rank-ordering questions or even open-ended ones. This would have allowed inferences to be made as to the degree of choice on each of the variables.

In addition, because of the limitation on time, many questions which would have helped this study were not asked. These would include questions such as whether or not the respondents are registered to vote; how politically active they are; how they view politics in general; or how they



feel about abortion, capital punishment, etc.

Another and final recommendation would expand the study into the states that surround Oklahoma. An analysis of the surrounding states would define the regions which overlap Oklahoma.

Of all of these recommendations, the most important one is that future studies continue to explore the relationship between politics and the spatial or geographical environment as both relate to society. Understanding this relationship not only reveals where society has been, but also points to its future direction.

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**APPENDIX**

**THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

Questionnaire--Oklahoma  
(Please, answer all questions)

1. Major: \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Sex: M F
4. Hometown (that is, the city in which you attended High School): \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_
5. Years spent in that town/community? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How many years (total) have you lived in Oklahoma? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Party Preference:  
☐ Republican ☐ Democrat ☐ Independent ☐ None
8. Measure of Identity:  
☐ strong liberal ☐ liberal ☐ moderate  
☐ conservative ☐ strong conservative
9. Parent's Political Preference:  
 Mother: ☐ Republican ☐ Democrat ☐ Independent ☐ None  
 Father: ☐ Republican ☐ Democrat ☐ Independent ☐ None
10. On which one of the following sources of local (state) political information do you most rely?  
☐ Television ☐ Radio ☐ Friends  
☐ Newspapers ☐ Family members  
☐ None, I rely solely on my own intuitions
11. On which of the following do you least rely?  
☐ Television ☐ Radio ☐ Friends  
☐ Newspapers ☐ Family members
12. In your opinion, do candidate advertisements, that appear on fence posts and billboards, add to or detract from the overall political campaign?  
☐ add to ☐ detract from ☐ makes no difference
13. In your opinion, is Oklahoma more Republican or more Democratic in overall political orientation?  
☐ more Republican ☐ more Democratic

(Continued On The Next Page)

14. In your opinion, has Governor Henry Bellmon adequately represented the interests of the entire state of Oklahoma?  
       \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no \_\_\_no opinion
15. If you answered "no" to the previous question, which areas of the state, in your opinion, have not been represented adequately? (please check those that apply)
- \_\_\_Central Oklahoma       \_\_\_Southwestern Oklahoma  
       \_\_\_Panhandle               \_\_\_Southeastern Oklahoma  
       \_\_\_Northeastern Oklahoma   \_\_\_Northwestern Oklahoma
16. In your opinion, what issues are in most need of attention in Oklahoma? (please check those that apply)
- \_\_\_Education   \_\_\_Roads   \_\_\_Health Care  
       \_\_\_Bridges     \_\_\_Industrial Development (jobs)  
       \_\_\_Tax Reform   \_\_\_Environment (pollution control)  
       \_\_\_Political Reform       \_\_\_Social Welfare
17. In your opinion, does the state government, in Oklahoma City, adequately address the needs of your hometown?  
       \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no
18. In regard to the above question, do you feel the distance between your hometown and the state capital helps or hinders the allocation of those services?  
       \_\_\_helps \_\_\_hinders \_\_\_neither, it makes no difference
19. In your opinion, to which political region does Oklahoma most belong?
- \_\_\_Northcentral (i.e., Kansas, Missouri, etc.)  
       \_\_\_Southwest (i.e., Texas, New Mexico, etc.)  
       \_\_\_Southeast (i.e., Arkansas, Louisiana, etc.)
20. In your opinion, does Oklahoma, as it exists today, constitute a single political entity? (that is, do you feel all of the geographical regions of Oklahoma are best served by their inclusion within this state)  
       \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no \_\_\_no opinion

(Thank You for Your Cooperation)

VITA 2

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